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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

Vol. III, No. 3 Spring 1993

This Quarter's Theme:

A Land of Opportunity: Crime and Immigration

Drowning in a Crime Wave — Ted Robert Gurr

Immigration and Crime — John Tanton and Wayne Lutton

The Nigerian Crime Network — David Simcox

Are We Truly Winning the War on Drugs? — Jim Kouri

Memo From the San Diego Border — Barbara McCarthy

PLUS
ESSAYS, OPINION PIECES, REVIEWS AND REPORTAGE ON:
population growth, international migration, assimilation, culture, and the environment.

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A STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Just over two decades ago, concern over rapidly growing human population led to the development of the so-called "population movement" aimed at reducing the rate of population growth, both at home and abroad. At home, for a variety of reasons, birth rates fell sharply to sub-replacement levels. However, immigration grew steadily due, in significant measure, to the burgeoning population overseas. Today, human numbers world wide expand at about 10,000 per hour, a quarter of a million each day, 90 million a year.

The combined circumstances of low birth rates and high immigration pressures pose for all the developed countries the three most fundamental questions of immigration policy:

1. **How** many people shall we admit, and **what factors** should be taken into account in setting this limit?
2. **Who** should be chosen to immigrate, and **what criteria** should be used for choosing?
3. **How** shall we humanely enforce the rules we decide upon?

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT seeks to explore and illuminate these questions by publishing new material, and also by pulling together and reprinting existing works from many now-scattered sources. Our goal is to provide a periodical devoted to the interrelated topics of:

- **Human population** questions, including its absolute size, rate of growth, and distribution. In nations with low natural increase and high immigration, the latter is a significant component of population growth. (In an ideal world, policy on immigrant numbers would derive from a national population policy.)
- **Immigration policy**, especially as it relates to the three basic policy questions mentioned above: how many, who, and how?
- **Language, assimilation, and national unity** considerations, which in large measure derive from and are driven by immigration and assimilation policies.
- **The balance of individual rights and civic responsibilities** since, as with many issues today, population, immigration and language questions are often framed in terms of 'rights.' What is the proper balance of individual and community rights and interests?

Our method for approaching these connected issues is the time-honored concept of "The Social Contract." Most great public issues are basically moral and ethical ones: What is the right thing to do? How do we decide what we think is right? When 'rights' collide, which ones shall take precedence? The discipline of thinking through these issues in terms of a Social Contract allows one to achieve a balance: of individual and community interests; of the short and the long term; and of utopian idealism and the realities of the world in which we live.

But most importantly, THE SOCIAL CONTRACT is not a detached forum for discussion in some backwater of life. Our issues are all in the forefront of public policy discussions in the United States, which is our primary focus. Our Editorial Advisors are drawn from many of the main organizations trying to influence the course of policy in the issue areas we have chosen. Our journal is one of the tools they use to raise questions, debate themes, and communicate ideas — to encourage vigorous public debate and subsequent changes in our laws and public policies.

We invite you to take part in this Great Debate by reading and contributing to THE SOCIAL CONTRACT.

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EDITOR AND PUBLISHER

JOHN TANTON
Petoskey, Michigan

ASSOCIATE EDITOR

WAYNE LUTTON
Petoskey, Michigan

MANAGING EDITOR

ROBERT KYSER
Alanson, Michigan

WASHINGTON EDITOR

ROY BECK
1666 Connecticut Ave., NW, Room 410
Washington, D.C. 20009
Telephone (202) 265-1179

INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENTS

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Nurnberg, Germany

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JOHN MEYER
Toronto, Canada

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Crime and Immigrants

Editorial

Ted Robert Gurr, Professor of Political Science at the University of Maryland - College Park, is editor of the two volume *Violence in America: The History of Crime*, briefly reviewed on page 223. We lead off this issue of *The Social Contract* with a reprint of Professor Gurr's op-ed on crime from *The New York Times* in which he tells us that "the United States is in the grip of the third of three great crime waves. They began about 50 years apart - approximately 1850, 1900 and 1960 - and each has lasted for 20 to 30 years." He goes on to state that "America's three great crime waves can be linked to immigration, economic deprivation and war, which all interfere with the civilizing process." Further, that "the first and second episodes of violent crime wound down as immigrants were incorporated into the expanding economy." To address the current wave, Dr. Gurr calls for measures combatting poverty, better law enforcement, etc.

He does not however say anything about the role that curtailing immigration might play. This was very important in breaking the first two crime waves. After the one beginning in 1850, immigration dropped off from more or less natural causes in the 1870s and '80s, and crime subsided for this — and no doubt other — reasons. Immigration picked up again in the 1890s, reaching peaks of one million a year after the turn of the century, and a new crime wave began in 1900. This, along with other factors, generated the intense opposition which led to the immigration control Act of 1924 which cut immigration to about 300,000 a year. This was followed by other "natural causes" — the Great Depression and WW II — which further cut it to the vanishing point: as low as 23,000 in 1933. Thus deprived of part of its "fuel," and coupled with other efforts, including strong assimilative pressures, the crime wave of 1900 subsided as had that of 1850.

Here we have one of those delicious paradoxes of history. The people who in the 1910s and '20s argued for restricting immigration raised questions about the immigrants' innate criminality and assimilability, for which they earned epithets that are still with us today: nativistic, jingoistic, and that all-time scrabble winner: xenophobic. (See an essay by Roy Beck on xenophobia in the Spring 1992 issue of *The Social Contract*, Vol. II, No. 3, pp. 144-149.)

Nonetheless they carried the day; immigration was reduced, the civilizing process (to borrow Gurr's term) of assimilation occurred, and the crime rate fell for this — and other — reasons. Had the other side won, we can theorize that immigration would have remained at high levels, that crime and other problems complained of would have grown, and the limitationists would have been vindicated. Too bad that in history, unlike science, we cannot run parallel experiments and see how the alternative would have actually turned out!

Saul Alinsky, the late, well-known community organizer and author of *Rules for Radicals*, had some insights on this point. He wrote that people often do the right things for the wrong reasons. Certainly that is better than doing the wrong things for the "right" reasons, so common among today's poseurs. Whether the reasons of the immigration reformers of the turn of the century were actually wrong is a matter for debate. They certainly had the right remedy for the problems then at hand: cut immigration. Perhaps that validates them? (Incidentally, the corollary to Alinsky's dictum is that people often do the right things for reasons different from yours; that's o.k. too — for other than the ideologue.)

But back to the present. Is there justification for limiting immigration, as one approach among many to curb our current crime wave? We certainly think so, and believe you will agree after reading our feature essay on page 159. There are those who now come to the U.S. specifically for criminal purposes, as do the members of the gangs essayed upon. Reducing their numbers at the border is certainly one way to help the crime problem.

If one has a problem, the first line of defense should be to limit its size, especially if the same actions will help address other difficulties such as unemployment, social discord and population-induced environmental decline.

Thus, the crime wave of 1960 to the present provides one more reason to do the right thing: declare a moratorium on immigration, until we can get our house in order.

John Tanton, Editor and Publisher

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Letters to the Editor

Editor:

Congratulations on the Winter 1992-93 issue of *The Social Contract*. It covered all aspects of the role of the Churches and religion in regard to Population Growth, Immigration and Environment with fairness and thoroughness.

I was impressed with the contributions of David Simcox, Roy Beck, and Gerda Bikales but, of course, believed that Stephen Mumford's revelation of NSSM 200 and its implication for the U.S. was the most important for the future welfare of the United States.

Best wishes,

Ambassador Adolph W. Schmidt
Ligonier, Pennsylvania

Editor:

I am concerned that the Winter 1992-93 issue of *The Social Contract* repeatedly calls for "the morality of Americans moving to protect their own eco-systems" through increased immigration restrictions, without questioning the morality of U.S. actions that help fuel immigration pressures in the first place (supposedly dismissed as "White-affluent-American guilt"). *The net flow of wealth from South to North is estimated at $200 billion annually* (*Multinational Monitor*, August 1992). Attacking the current legal and illegal immigration rate without attacking the role of our overconsumptive society in causing it is useless at best and unethical at worst. It is this sort of skewed protectionistic posturing that contributed to the breakdoown of UNCED population talks and continues to impede the goal of global population stabilization.

Sustainability,

Carol Benson Holst, Director
Ministry for Population Concerns
Glendale, California

Editor:

Professor Charles L. King's letter (Summer 1992) on bilingual ballots is certainly valid. A rudimentary familiarity with the English language is not too much to expect of persons participating in the nation's election process. When we erode that concept by official sanction we erode our legitimate sense of nationhood.

But the current challenge to the integrity of our voting system goes further. Our concept of the voting franchise, as in every other western democracy, starts with the assumption that citizenship is a basic qualification. Today the meaning of citizenship itself is under attack.

In 1992, Congress passed legislation which would extend the franchise to people applying for drivers licenses and other public certificates, and those visiting public-funded facilities. It would establish a national system of registration by mail. The bill was vetoed by President Bush but has been introduced again and is awaiting resolution by a House-Senate conference.

Will there be ways to preserve the assumption of citizenship as a voting requirement? Even without any attempt to confirm citizenship, the legislation would impose horrendous costs on state and local governments already in deep budgetary trouble. It would be an open invitation to fraud, stretching the capacities of election districts to maintain orderly voter records, beyond their already-substantial difficulties.

But the idea has wide support in the name of "easing voter registration." Its backers say we are "locking citizens out of the voting booth," a highly dubious assertion. In reality, it would virtually end any distinction between citizen and non-citizen for purposes of voting, and this is seen as a valid objective by many.

Growing numbers of Americans appear to be either unconcerned with, or actively opposed to, the idea that citizenship has relevance to the voting franchise, or much of anything else in the conduct of national or community affairs. Typically, these are people who regard themselves as especially enlightened and "non-judgmental." Among Western nations we are the first to have arrived at this point.

U.S. citizenship is becoming irrelevant in the minds of many Americans, native-born and others alike. We are losing the assumed concept of citizenship which lies at the heart of participatory democracy.

It seems valid to ask the question: can the nation survive this development?

Stanley G. Langland
Belmont, California

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Ted Robert Gurr is a professor of political science at the University of Maryland - College Park and editor of the two-volume Violence in America: The History of Crime *(Newbury Park: Sage, 1989).* *This op-ed piece appeared on April 13, 1989.* *© 1989 by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.*

Drowning in a Crime Wave

By Ted Robert Gurr

Many streets in America's big cities are in a state of anarchy. Too often the police are overwhelmed. In some cities and neighborhoods, people are afraid to go outside. And in and out of their homes they risk murder, assault, rape, holdups, muggings and theft.

The reason is that the United States is in the grip of the third of three great crime waves. They began about 50 years apart — approximately 1850, 1900, and 1960 — and each has lasted for 20 to 30 years. The current wave is more serious than the last one, which Prohibition helped sustain into the early 1930s. At that time, lucrative bootlegging attracted young entrepreneurs, mostly immigrants or their sons, who fought deadly battles with hijackers and rivals for control of booze and markets. Bootlegging warfare, however, was less virulent than the almost random and more widespread violence associated with contemporary drug dealing.

Each year in this decade, about 20,000 Americans have been murdered, mainly in street fights, family quarrels and robberies. Most have been young men, half of them black. In some Northern cities, blacks are twenty times more likely to be murdered than whites.

Our crime waves stand out against the long-run trend of declining personal violence in Western society, which the cultural historian Norbert Elias attributed to "the civilizing process." By that he meant the restraint of aggressive impulses, acceptance of humanistic values and establishment of ordered routines of life that minimize occasions for violence. These conditions were largely absent in medieval Europe, where people had few compunctions about murdering each other in brawls and robberies. In 13th and 14th century England, people killed one another at rates probably ten and perhaps twenty times greater than those of contemporary Britain — though at only twice the rate of the United States today.

But a decline in the homicide rate in England was clearly evident by the 17th century, and it continued irregularly downward to the 1950s. (That rate has since risen, fueled by growing numbers of alienated and unemployed youths, though England's rate has risen far less than America's.) There have been parallel declines in the homicide rate since the early 1800s in France, Scandinavia and Australia — but not in the United States, where murder took a different turn in the mid-1800s.

America's three great crime waves can be linked to immigration, economic deprivation and war, which all interfere with the civilizing process.

From the 1840s to the end of large-scale European immigration after 1918, each new wave of immigrants — Irish, Germans, Italians — added disproportionately to crime and mayhem in our cities. Many were rootless young men who indulged a penchant for drinking and street brawling. As these immigrants were absorbed into the industrial economy's routines and received its rewards, they committed fewer crimes of violence.

"America's three great crime waves can be linked to immigration, economic deprivation, and war, which all interfere with the civilizing process."

Most blacks in Northern cities were persistently barred from the industrial labor force. Except for a few years during and after World War II, they lacked the chances of immigrants to participate in an economy that produced a growing middle class. Since the best jobs were closed to them, a disproportionate number turned to gambling, prostitution and dealing in alcohol and drugs. However, when economic opportunities for blacks began to open up in the 1960s, their rate of death

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from homicide declined — by about 30 percent between 1970 and 1983. Since then, the resurgence of inner-city poverty and the onset of deadly drug wars have arrested the decline.

During the same period, homicide rates among whites increased by about the same 30 percent. This was accompanied by a rise in poverty and in family breakdown among whites — conditions that breed violent crime in all ethnic groups.

Every major war has been followed by a short, sharp peak in violent crime in the countries of most of the belligerents. Our current crime wave appears to have been exacerbated by the Vietnam War.

War leads to criminal violence in peacetime society, partly because it temporarily uproots people and legitimizes aggressive action — some ex-servicemen who have trouble readjusting to civilian life turn to crime. War may also legitimize violence for civilians who find in the patriotic gore of wartime a license to act out their own anger.

In any case, the first and second episodes of violent crime wound down as immigrants were incorporated into the expanding economy. Reforms in policing and criminal justice policy made arrest and punishment more certain. Civic associations and reform movements transformed crime-ridden neighborhoods and cities. Other institutions, especially churches, reasserted conservative moral values that heightened inhibitions against violence.

Today's epidemic will not go away without similar concerted action. Multiple concurrent strategies are needed to undercut conditions that breed and sustain crime. The poverty cycle must be broken. Economic opportunities and discipline must be created for the alienated, poorly educated young people at the lower margins of black society — who still suffer from the persistent consequences of historical segregation — and of white society.

More-certain justice for repeat offenders is essential. This means additional police officers (depending upon how they are used), more prison space, and streamlined criminal court procedures. Community efforts in every neighborhood threatened with crime are also crucial. This requires public support for self-help projects such as teen-ager employment programs and for citizen crime patrols, and probably acceptance of direct action such as running drug dealers out of neighborhoods. Of course, comprehensive drug control and rehabilitation programs are indispensable if the other policies are to work.

Unless we mobilize money and people to pursue all these policies, today's crime wave will be our longest and most costly — and more streets will become our nightmare alleys. ■

Fraudulent Documents

The United States is a forger's dream. It is easy and cheap to get a perfectly valid copy of someone else's birth certificate. Baptismal records can be produced in the name of an even larger number of real or alleged churches. There also are no national standards for issuing driver's licenses. Credit cards and other identity documents can be used without anyone comparing information on the document with the characteristics of the bearer. ...it was not a crime until recently to counterfeit, alter, lend or sell a [Social Security] card. Only the reproduction of the seal of the Department of Health and Human Services was expressly forbidden (U.S. 18 Code 506).

— Professor Joseph W. Eaton (Retired)

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An important influence on the public perception of U.S. immigration policy is the popular notion that newcomers are upstanding and hard-working persons who are simply asking for a chance in the land of opportunity. Unfortunately, borders loosely open to immigrants with benign aspirations are equally open to criminals who have a far different intent.
An abridged version of the following essay appears as a chapter in the forthcoming book, The Winds of Change: A New Look at U.S. Immigration Policy, *by John Tanton and Wayne Lutton.*

Immigration and Crime

By John Tanton and Wayne Lutton

> *"The hard evidence is that criminal aliens are commiting serious crimes, leaving and re-entering the justice system."*
>
> — Michael D. Antonovich
> Board of Supervisors
> Los Angeles County
> May 14, 1992

Criminal activities committed by aliens have escalated dramatically. Aliens are crowding local, state, and federal jails across the country. The U.S. Bureau of Prisons reports that more than 20 percent of federal inmates are non-U.S. citizens, from over 120 countries. Half were convicted on drug offenses and most are subject to deportation.

"If we think the 20 percent figure is high, what is worse is that seven out of eight [criminal] aliens are either released or given probation and never serve time in prison," explained Representative Lamar Smith (R-Texas), a member of the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees and International Law.

For the U.S. population as a whole, the incarceration rate in federal and state prisons is 233 per 100,000 persons. Among illegal aliens, the incarceration rate is three times the U.S. average. Since 1980 there has been a 600 percent increase in alien inmates, principally for drug-related offenses. Over the past five years, an average of more than 72,000 aliens have been arrested annually on drug charges.

These statistics should not imply that all or most immigrants are law-breakers. But under current immigration laws and procedures, frighteningly large numbers of newcomers see crime as their avenue to the American dream.

Foreign Crime Syndicates Target U.S.

The FBI warns that international crime and terrorist organizations have placed America under siege. INS spokesman Gary Renick noted that crime bosses in such places as Colombia, Mexico, Nigeria, South Korea, Japan, and Hong Kong view the U.S. as an especially inviting "land of opportunity." According to the INS, organized criminals of each nationality seem to specialize: Colombians in cocaine; Mexicans in marijuana, alien smuggling, and auto theft; Nigerians in heroin, student-loan and credit-card fraud [see David Simcox's essay on page 168]; Chinese in heroin, and alien smuggling; South Koreans in prostitution; Russians in drugs and insurance-fraud; Jamaicans in cocaine.

Since the mid-1980s, major crime operations have not only come to be directed by foreign nationals, but staffed by them as well, instead of employing American agents. An INS report titled, *The Newest Criminals: The Emergence of Non-Traditional Organized Ethnic Crime Groups and INS's Role in Combating Them*, says that many of

About the Authors

John H. Tanton, M.D. is the founder of the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), headquartered in Washington, DC. His articles on population, immigration, and related topics have appeared in *The Christian Science Monitor, The Ecologist,* and *The Houston Chronicle.*

Wayne C. Lutton, Ph.D. is a policy analyst and historian who has published widely on immigration concerns. He is author, co-author, or contributor to nine books and monographs, including *The Immigration Time Bomb*, and has written nearly two hundred articles and reviews which have appeared in *Chronicles, National Review, Strategic Review,* and other journals of scholarship and opinion.

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the ethnic criminal organizations exist in their native countries and simply expand into the United States. Said David Leroy, chief of domestic intelligence for the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration, "Ethnic gangs appear to be *the* new trend in crime."

Criminal activities in the U.S. run by Third World natives can be traced back to the Immigration Act of 1965 and failure to control illegal immigration. The social effects of the 1965 Act were not felt immediately. Only after a "critical mass" of foreign colonists arrived here, did law enforcement agencies begin to learn about the presence of criminal elements among the new immigrants. As *U.S. News & World Report* conceded, "it is startling the degree to which the clout of newer ethnic gangs is reflective of immigration trends."

Asian Criminal Organizations

The Triads

The Triads date back to the 17th century, when patriotic Han Chinese founded secret societies to fight the foreign Manchu invaders and restore the Ming dynasty. By the end of the 19th century, many Triads had largely abandoned their political idealism and transformed themselves into sophisticated criminal enterprises. Leading politicians, including Dr. Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek, found it expedient to trade favors with the powerful Triads, whose opportunities for profits improved after the Manchus were finally overthrown in 1911.

Triads have been active in Hong Kong since 1842. During World War II, they often cooperated with the Japanese. In time, they came to control the dockyards, and were able to penetrate other labor markets. After Mao-Tse-Tung seized power on the mainland in 1949, other Triads moved to Macao (the Portuguese colony near Hong Kong that comes under the authority of Beijing in 1999), and Taiwan. Today, most Triads are based in Hong Kong and Taiwan, with branches operating in other parts of Asia, Europe, Canada, and the United States. According to the Royal Hong Kong Police Force, approximately 50 Triad societies are active there, with a combined membership of some 300,000. One society, the 14 K Triad, has nearly 40,000 members. The State of California Attorney General's Office reports that the Wo Hop To Triad, which is one of the most active Triads in California, has an active membership of 28,000.

Alien smuggling has become an important part of Triad work. *The Washington Post* reported on Feb. 9, 1993 that more than 60 international routes are used to illegally bring 100,000 Chinese nationals into the U.S. each year [and additional tens of thousands into Canada and Australia as well]. The individuals pay huge fees to the professional smugglers, often ranging from $25,000 to $50,000, for this "service." Those who are unable to pay in advance settle the balance of their debt by becoming indentured to Triad-controlled businesses over here, especially garment sweatshops, prostitution rings, gambling operations, and drug dealing.

"Criminal activities in the U.S. run by Third World natives can be traced back to the Immigration Act of 1965 and failure to control illegal immigration."

Writing in *The Christian Science Monitor*, December 24, 1991, Ann Scott Tyson revealed that, "The Chinese groups tend to specialize in certain kinds of crime in big cities. Fujianese criminals in New York tend to be involved in violent crime. Cantonese from China's Guangdong Province operate vice and extortion rackets in San Francisco, and Taiwanese crime groups are active in money laundering and white collar crime in Los Angeles and Houston."

The Triads' most important source of wealth derives from their control of the major supplies of heroin. The hilly area bordering Burma, Laos, and Thailand, known as the "Golden Triangle," is where over 70 percent of the world's opium is grown. As investigator Gerald Posner points out in his study of the Triads, *Warlords of Crime*, "Without heroin they are just another group of criminals. With heroin they have a potential for profit unmatched in the annals of organized crime."

The FBI reports that Asian youth gangs, notably Vietnamese "refugees" and their American-born offspring, employed as "street muscle" by the Triads, operate in the U.S. through Tongs. (The word "Tong," derived from "Town Hall," describes fronts that often publicly engage in charitable work in Chinese communities). These Asian syndicates pose special problems for law enforcement, since their

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members are bound to secrecy, and because the almost insurmountable barriers of language, dialect, and culture make prosecution difficult in the extreme — including reading arrestees their Miranda rights, not just in the proper language, but in the correct dialect!

Federal officials say that New York City has become the central hub for Chinese criminal operations that extend to Boston, Philadelphia, Dallas, Houston, and Portland. San Francisco and Los Angeles are their West Coast headquarters.

The forthcoming transfer of control of Hong Kong to Communist China in 1997 has spurred a flight from the colony. Among those seeking refuge elsewhere are the Triads, whose destinations of preference are the United States, Canada, and Australia. Some Triad chiefs, known as "dragon heads," are suspected of trying to take advantage of the new visa category that permits immigration by individuals who promise to invest $1 million in the U.S.

The Wah Ching

The Wah Ching is a one-time street gang that has evolved into a sophisticated organized crime group. With international ties to Hong Kong and Taiwan Triads, its U.S. base of operations is San Francisco, with powerful factions working out of other California cities, including Monterey Park, Los Angeles, and Oakland.

Like the Triads, the Wah Ching is engaged in gambling, prostitution, extortion, infiltration of businesses, and drug trafficking. They also own myriad legitimate businesses.

Membership in the Wah Ching is growing, thanks in large part to their active recruitment of Viet Ching gang members. "Viet Ching" are gangs made up of youths who are ethnic Chinese from Vietnam.

In his annual report to the legislature, *Organized Crime in California*, the state Attorney General details Wah Ching activities, including their growing involvement in *pai gow* gambling (pai gow is a Chinese high-stakes game played with domino tiles). Through the California-based Productions Entertainment Company, they also play a major role in the Chinese entertainment industry, which includes arranging concert tours to the U.S. of Oriental acts, as well as distributing Chinese video cassettes in this country. Overseas tours are controlled by the San Yee On Triad of Hong Kong. Triads control the worldwide distribution of Chinese videos originating in Hong Kong and Taiwan.

The Yakuza

The *Yakuza* are the Japanese crime syndicates. According to Japan's National Police Agency, they have well over 100,000 members divided among 3,300 "families" and federations. Four years ago, their annual income was estimated to exceed $10 billion. Among Asian criminals today, they rank second only to the Chinese Triads in power.

In the United States, as elsewhere, they are involved in drug smuggling, gunrunning (to Japan), extortion, money laundering, pornography, and prostitution. The California Attorney General warns that they are reinvesting the proceeds from their criminal activities in legitimate businesses throughout this country. The Securities and Exchange Commission, in July 1991, revealed that President George Bush's brother, Prescott, acted as a consultant for companies controlled by Yakuza godfather Susumu Ishii that were interested in buying small American firms (see *Business Week*, July 8, 1991, p. 29).

Over twenty years ago, Yakuza started "casing" the state of Hawaii. As David Kaplan and Alec Dubro observe in their book, *Yakuza: Japan's Criminal Underworld*, "Given the dollar value of Yakuza-related enterprises, Hawaii is becoming dependent on Yakuza investment. ...The money is now part of the economic structure of the islands. ...It is in Hawaii, perhaps, that the future can best be seen, where a panoply of Eastern and Western gangsters cooperate."

Caribbean Criminals

Jamaican Posses

According to *U.S. News & World Report*, Jamaican criminals are "probably the most active after the Asians among the newer ethnic gangs." Known as *posses*, they got their start smuggling marijuana into the U.S. They moved into cocaine after discovering the huge profits to be made dealing that product. In many American cities, Jamaicans now dominate the crack market. As Al Lamberti of the Broward (Florida) Sheriff's Department pointed out, "They're moving American blacks off the street corners. And they're ready to use whatever violence is necessary to do the job." James Scott of the Miami-Dade police added, "We've worked with all sorts of ethnic groups involved in the drug trade —

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Cubans, Colombians, American blacks. But none of these have the weaponry the Jamaicans do."

Over thirty *posses* have been identified by law enforcement agencies. Some of the bigger gangs, such as the "Spangler" and "Shower" *posses*, are now involved in the international gunrunning trade.

Many of these Jamaican gangsters are adherents of the Restafarian religious cult and have been enormously successful, particularly in Brooklyn. Newcomer criminals from Panama have mimicked Rastafarian hair locks and dress as a way of breaking into their drug operations.

Haitians

North America is now home to a Haitian population equalling over one-sixth of Haiti's 6.3 million people. A loosely structured network of Haitian criminals is engaged in drug dealing, car thefts, and armed robberies. A major source of income is prostitution.

In late 1990, as reported in the *Montreal Gazette*, the Montreal, Quebec police broke a notorious cross-border gang that operated in Canada and the United States. Hundreds of Haitians were arrested who had forced into prostitution young Canadian and U.S. women, a number of whom were taken from foster homes. They were subjected to unspeakable treatment. A spokesman for the Haitian community complained that "by targeting a single gang, police risk fueling racist feelings."

It is noteworthy that many of the Haitians who have engaged in crime originally came to the U.S. as refugees, or were recruited by the Quebec Immigration Ministry when it sought to bring in more French-speaking people. On both sides of the border, many Haitian neighborhoods have become violent, crime-ridden slums. French language newspapers have coined a new word to describe the transformation: *se bronxifier* — to become like the Bronx.

Cubans

In the Spring of 1980, Fidel Castro opened the Cuban port of Mariel to those wishing to leave. Among the 125,000 who took advantage of this opportunity to migrate to the United States were thousands of criminals, sex offenders, and mental patients. Police officials and fellow refugees place the number of undesirables at 40,000. The Marielitos brought no records with them. U.S. authorities could not even verify their names.

The Cubans who arrived here in the 1980 boatlift differ dramatically from the first waves of refugees who came over between 1959-1962. The Marielitos were younger, less educated, poorer, included fewer families, and had fewer U.S. ties.

From Miami, Marielito crime has spread across America. According to a report prepared by the Las Vegas Police Department, "a national conspiracy exists" among Cuban "refugee" criminals. They have specialized in such crimes as airline ticket fraud, credit card fraud, and drug dealing.

Local police officials from around the country complain that the federal government has done little to aid them in combatting refugee-related crime. For reasons that remain unclear, the Federal Bureau of Investigation does not collect information on refugee crime. As a spokesman for the FBI, Manuel Marquez, said, "It's just not our problem."

Few of the Marielitos who have committed felonies in the United States have been expelled, as federal law mandates. Over the past twelve years, the government has engaged in largely fruitless negotiations with the Cuban dictator, but only a few felons actually have been returned. Castro has made it clear that he doesn't want them back. And, ethnic lobbyists and civil rights activists have created further impediments to deporting anybody to Cuba. In the meantime, Cuban criminals detained at U.S. prisons staged destructive uprisings in 1987 and 1991.

The results of a poll conducted by Mason-Dixon Opinion Research should come as no surprise: 77 percent of the non-Hispanic whites and 72 percent of the non-Hispanic blacks said the quality of life in Florida has been hurt by emigration from Cuba. Only 1 percent said they believe Florida has been helped by Cuban emigration.

Other Newer Ethnic Gangs

Russian Emigres

Insight magazine reports that, "among the 200,000 Soviet immigrants in the United States, most of whom are Jewish emigres, the so-called 'Russian mafia' has shown a penchant for get-rich schemes and a ready willingness to use extreme violence to back up their operations."

According to the President's Commission on

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Organized Crime, Soviet authorities took advantage of special emigration rights granted to Jews and, over the past twenty years, "included a significant number of criminals who were forced to leave Russia." The Presidential Commission suggested that by means of Jewish emigration, "The Soviet Union attempted to empty their prisons and rid their society of undesirables, much as Fidel Castro did several years later during the Mariel boatlift."

Federal authorities estimate that at least a dozen Russian gangs operate out of the greater New York area, with the Brighton Beach section of Brooklyn serving as their headquarters. Other groups are based in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland, Dallas, Miami, Chicago, Cleveland, Boston, and Philadelphia.

"[Nigerians] specialize in huge drug deals and major fraud schemes, and are among the most violent of criminals."

Their activities include extortion, loan-sharking, counterfeiting, arson, insurance fraud, burglary, murder-for-hire, and cocaine and heroin dealing. Cooperating with the Italian Mafia, they have become increasingly involved in the bootleg gasoline trade. Distributors deliver gasoline to service stations, but fail to pass on the federal excise taxes collected. In November, 1991, a leading Russian emigre gangster, Oleg Yasko, was convicted in California for skimming 40 cents in unpaid taxes on each gallon of gasoline his company delivered to other wholesalers and retail service stations.

In July 1991, federal authorities broke one of the biggest cases of medical fraud in history, when they arrested the twelve leaders of Michael and David Smushkevichs' emigre ring. Michael traveled around the world with passports from the Soviet Union, Israel, and Mexico. The Smushkevichs used mobile medical clinics to attract patients with promises of free tests, and then billed some 1,400 insurance companies for over $1 billion in phony claims. "It ranks right up with the Drexel Burnham insider stock trading case," said David Smith, head of the Postal Inspection Service in Los Angeles.

The Los Angeles Times reports that "ill-gotten gains in this country are being shipped back home [to Russia] to some of the estimated 5,000 crime syndicates there so they can get an upper hand economically as the once-communist economies move to a free market." Displaced former members of the KGB are suspected of being involved.

The U.S. Justice Department considers the Russian gangs to be an "emerging crime problem." On April 14, 1992, the newly formed federal task force on Russian emigre crime held its first meeting in Los Angeles. Like other ethnic criminal organizations, Russian gangs have evolved through three major stages: extortion of their own people; expansion into other crimes; and movement into legitimate businesses.

Israelis

Organized crime in Israel reached a peak in the mid-1970s. Vigorous police work encouraged the Israeli crime element to emigrate. Many moved to the United States. In the Northeast, Florida, and on the West Coast, Israeli gangs, "comprised mostly of Sephardic Jews born in Arab countries, are increasingly active in the U.S. heroin trade," according to *U.S. News & World Report.*

Los Angeles County sheriff Sherman Block told *The Jerusalem Post* that the potent Israeli mafia has spread across America, graduating from extorting money from poor and elderly Jews — many of them former concentration camp inmates — to major drug dealing and fraud schemes against the wealthy. A veteran Drug Enforcement Administration agent testified, "We have seen Israelis buying heroin in Pakistan, Turkey and Thailand. We are now seeing their ability to interact with other criminal groups, including La Cosa Nostra [and] the Chinese." Peter Moses and Carl Pelleck reported in the *New York Post* that while the Israelis currently deal mainly in heroin, they are now moving into cocaine.

Nigerians

Nigerian citizens, many of whom enter on student visas, are part of an international crime syndicate headquartered in Washington, D.C. and now active across the country. They specialize in huge drug deals and major fraud schemes, and are among the most violent of criminals.

The Nigerians have obtained a growing share of the American heroin trade. Much of the contraband enters the U.S. through Customs via Canada into New York and Michigan. In 1990, one of the biggest

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heroin busts recorded in the Midwest involved Ojo Adighibe, a Nigerian living in Grand Rapids, Michigan, who had heroin stashed in typewriters shipped to his stateside address from his homeland.

Law enforcement authorities admit that Nigerians are difficult to deal with. They tend to organize locally into small "cells" of five to twelve members, each headed by a boss. Members often are relatives or members of the same tribe — frequently Ibo or Yaruba. They like to cooperate with each other. If apprehended, few will inform on their fellow cell members.

Furthermore, federal authorities do not keep track of foreign "students" to see that they remain registered in school and are attending classes. Nigerian students recruited by criminal gangs will often remain in school, but reduce their course load. Others stop attending altogether. Student visas are issued for up to five years and there is no mechanism in place to monitor the holder's compliance with the law.

Nigerians are among the foremost perpetrators of credit card fraud. A California police report on the 'Nigerian mafia' discloses that they are responsible for over $1 billion in credit card losses every year. An "African church" in Los Angeles fronts as a training school, where Nigerian immigrants are taught the niceties of this trade. One method used to obtain credit card information illegally is to take employment in hospitals, hotels, post offices, and the mail rooms of corporations and apartments. There they can acquire names, addresses, and social security numbers, which are then used to apply for credit cards or to divert existing accounts by contacting credit card issuers and giving them a new address. Phony letters of credit are also employed to gain access to our financial network.

One ring was broken by Houston, Texas postal authorities in August 1991. Nigerian Ikembe Azikiwe offered letter carriers $3,000 for each MasterCard or Visa 'Goldcard' they turned over, and 50 percent of the value of any large commercial checks they were able to steal. Azikiwe boasted that a friend of his, engaged in the same work in Chicago, was able to steal enough in one week to pay cash for a new Mercedes. The U.S. Postal Inspection Service, in its *Law Enforcement Report*, Fall 1991, pointed out that, "attempted bribery of postal employees is being conducted on a relatively large scale basis by criminal elements within the Nigerian community."

Even when they are arrested, many Nigerians, like other felons, are released on bond and then fail to show up for trial. Lawyers representing bonding companies sometimes make up false death certificates, reporting that their client has died and asking for bond release.

Costs High for Three Big States

The impact of the new alien crime wave is being felt nationwide, but is acute in states with large alien populations. And the dollar costs do not adequately reflect the burden on society of additional crime. The administration of justice — including bilingual interpreters and court-appointed attorneys — is bogged down by the necessity of dealing with foreign-born criminals.

California

- State and local governments in California spend more than $500 million a year to arrest, try and imprison illegal aliens who commit serious crimes, according to a California state Senate report issued on March 23, 1993.
- The legal costs of dealing with all types of crimes by illegal aliens could run as high as $1.5 billion, according to an estimate included in the report.
- The California Attorney General reports that approximately 16,000 illegal alien felons are incarcerated in state prisons. Every year it costs California taxpayers $350 million to keep these criminal aliens behind bars.
- A study commissioned by the San Diego Association of Governments found that one in four jail inmates acknowledged being in this country illegally. Judges estimate that up to 35 percent of the felony cases in Superior Court involve illegals. A 1990 check in felony disposition court discovered that 41 percent of the defendants had immigration "holds" — on completion of sentence, they would be released to the INS for detention.
- As a test, Orange County Superior Court Judge David O. Carter invited the INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service) into his courtroom to help identify criminal aliens and develop deportation cases against them. Judge Carter informed the House Judiciary Committee that "the results are staggering. ...My criminal calendar is 36 percent illegal felons.

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These statistics would be much higher except the INS does not place holds on illegal felons who have started the amnesty process or come from countries where the United States is an adversary and has no extradition authority. Vietnam, Cambodia, Iran and Cuba are some of the most obvious countries which will not accept extradited felons."

• Orange Police Chief Merrill Duncan disclosed during a press conference in April 1992 that the 12 percent increase in crime from the previous year in that city is the result of a "tremendous influx of illegal aliens." He added that, "most crime suspects are illegals."

New York

• Twelve percent of the nearly 58,000 inmates in New York's state correctional system are foreign-born (either illegal aliens or legally admitted aliens who have committed crimes). The Governor's office reports it costs taxpayers $27,000 per alien, per year, to house these criminals, or about $183 million annually. Nearly half of the foreign-born inmates in New York come from Caribbean nations.

• On April 27, 1992, the state of New York filed a suit against the Federal Government, demanding that it start taking custody of thousands of illegal aliens currently incarcerated in state prisons. The suit charges that the Federal Government is responsible for taking charge of these inmates and launching deportation proceedings against them. But too often, the U.S. Justice Department fails to do that. Once convicts serve their terms, the state is forced to simply release them onto the streets, where they are often arrested for new crimes.

Texas

• In the Texas state prison system, only 4.3 percent of the inmates are foreign-born. But this is because, as *The Dallas Morning News* pointed out in its February 2, 1992 issue, "the state in effect uses municipal and county jails to house some of its prisoners. In the largest jail on the Texas-Mexico border, the county facility at El Paso, the percentage of criminal aliens ranges from 10 to 15 percent of the inmate population. Of the federal inmates in Texas, 36 percent are foreign-born." How extensively aliens are involved in crime throughout the state is difficult to determine, since many jurisdictions, such as Dallas, keep no statistics on the nationality of criminals.

Street Gangs

As "refugee" communities have sprung up across the nation, new ethnically based youth gangs have emerged. They are heavily involved in the drug trade and are responsible for a growing portion of the violence that wracks America's metropolitan areas.

This gang culture belies the media-created image of immigrants as "model citizens." For example, in California, as reported by *The New York Times*, "the simmering ethnic stew pot that is Los Angeles seems to favor youth gang activity. Gangs of almost every nationality flourish: Samoan, Filipino, Salvadoran, Mexican, Korean, Vietnamese. Experts estimate there are about 600 gangs..." Law enforcement officials put the current number of members for these gangs at over 100,000. In nearby Long Beach, a war between Cambodian and Hispanic gangs has been raging for over two years.

Gang activity is no longer limited to the traditional areas of immigrant settlement. As new immigrants have migrated to the Midwest, America's heartland has come to experience the ethnic violence that plagues the East and West Coasts, Florida, and the Southwest. In Chicago, the police are doing battle against not only black and Hispanic gangs, but Assyrians, Chinese, Cambodians, Vietnamese, Filipinos, and Greeks.

Symptomatic of the trend, St. Paul, Minnesota law enforcement officials have called for tough measures to combat Asian teen crime in the wake of a rash of major burglaries, including gun shops. Special programs to divert Asian youth from lives of crime have been authorized by the state legislature in an effort to manage the problem.

The western Michigan communities of Holland and Grand Rapids are experiencing a rise in violence attributable to young Asian males. A confidential police memo circulated in 1991 identified several gangs operating locally and regionally, such as "38 Crew," "Oriental Posse," "Crips With an Attitude," and "BBC" (Born Before Christ). Police admit that they have been reluctant to discuss the problem openly. The area has seen a huge increase in its Asian population, "many of them church-sponsored immigrants," the *Grand Rapids Press* reported.

As bad as the situation is now, the problems created in the U.S. by our new immigrant street gangs are bound to become much worse in the future

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if corrective measures are not quickly enacted and strictly enforced.

Cross-border Auto Theft

Along our border with Mexico, auto theft has become a multi-billion dollar growth industry. Thieves in California and Texas communities, including some Mexican law enforcement officers, charge several hundred dollars to steal cars and zip across the border to Mexico. Teens are favored as drivers, since they face little more than a mild rebuke if they are arrested.

High-priced luxury cars and off-road vehicles, such as Jeeps and Broncos, are prized. The cars are shipped from Mexico to buyers in Latin America, Europe, and the Middle East. Before the Persian Gulf war, many vehicles were bound for Kuwait.

Because U.S Customs does not check identification of outgoing cars, it is relatively easy for thieves to cross the Mexican border headed south. "It's almost a license to steal," Lt. Bob Samples of the Los Angeles Police Department remarked.

The War on Drugs

The celebrated U.S. "war on drugs" has been three-pronged: trying to eradicate drugs where they are grown and manufactured, called "going to the source;" a nationwide education effort to discourage drug use by youngsters; stepped up law enforcement. Thus far, the campaign has not been marked by much success. Despite generous increases in foreign aid to countries where cocaine, heroin, and marijuana are produced, production has soared. This is hardly surprising, given that profits generated by the drug trade are far greater than those deriving from other cash crops.

When faced with issues that require decisive action, Americans have come to rely on "education" as the preferred, safe response. While the "Just Say No!" campaign may have heightened public awareness, among those elements of the U.S. population most inclined to use drugs, such education has proved to be a remarkable failure. Drug use is actually growing.

Law enforcement agencies nationwide have been overwhelmed by drug-related crime. Courts are backlogged for years, to the extent that even with special "drug courts," other pressing cases are delayed for months and even years. Many serious crimes are being plea bargained away by local prosecutors, and others are not even taken to court. Our jails and prisons are overflowing with inmates convicted of drug-related offenses.

No matter how much apologists for our promiscuous immigration policy may wish to obfuscate the issue, we cannot separate our illegal drug and immigration problems from one another. Back in 1986, then Attorney General Edwin Meese informed Congress that, "The reality is that immigration is contributing to the drug problem." He pointed out that drug smugglers "get lost in the crowd" of aliens crossing the border and that traffickers regularly use aliens to transport drugs into the U.S.

"...as Florida ... has come under increasing surveillance by law enforcement, our porous border with Mexico has become the path favored by foreign suppliers [of drugs]."

The international dimension of the drug trade in America highlights the failure of past policies to protect the nation's interests. Federal officials concede that foreign nationals not only are responsible for producing virtually all of the drugs consumed in the U.S., but are in charge of nearly all of the distribution.

Cocaine, and its inexpensive, smokeable derivative, *crack*, is produced in the Andes, refined in Colombia and Mexico, and distributed worldwide by Colombian drug lords who cooperate with other foreign nationals, including Panamanians, Nicaraguans, Mexicans, Jamaicans, Dominicans, Haitians, Nigerians, Indians, Pakistanis, and Asians.

Florida remains a major hub for their North American operations. The drug trade has pumped billions of dollars into the Sunshine State's economy. But as Florida, which sits astride the major air and trade routes from South America, has come under increasing surveillance by law enforcement, our porous border with Mexico has become the path favored by foreign suppliers. As one Colombian drug dealer told a Miami-based colleague, "Come to California. It's the promised land."

All along the border, from California through

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Texas, small communities have sprung up that serve as staging areas for the U.S.-bound shipments. Mexican *burros* smuggle drugs across the border. As Tom McDermott of the U.S. Customs Service explained, "There are a lot of advantages" to using Mexican routes. "They can stage loads in Mexico with little or no risk, and they have a nice interstate highway system to get to their markets."

The drug trade generates billions of dollars in profits, with an increasing portion being reinvested in the U.S. and used to purchase real estate and legitimate businesses.

Although it is viewed as a "friendly" country by many Americans, Mexico remains among the top sources of heroin and marijuana, and the major supply route for cocaine. Mexico City routinely promises to cooperate with U.S.-sponsored anti-drug efforts. William van Raab, customs chief under President Reagan, is among those who charge that official complicity in the international drug trade reaches high levels of the Mexican government (cf., Elaine Shannon in *Desperados: Latin Drug Lords. U.S. Lawmen, and the War America Can't Win).* The White House and State Department have been reluctant to highlight the role played by ranking Mexican political figures in the drug commerce.

Cocaine and marijuana are only two of the most popular drugs being smuggled into the U.S. Heroin continues to generate billions of dollars of profits annually. Since President Nixon declared his own "war on drugs" in 1971, the number of heroin addicts in this country has increased by several hundred thousand. In a number of metropolitan areas, nearly three-quarters of urban crime is committed by heroin users. The millions of dollars spent on anti-heroin education have done little to discourage heroin usage. Only the deadly disease AIDS has actually reduced the number of junkies. Dealers have now developed a smokeable version of heroin, which they have already introduced to America.

Like cocaine, the burgeoning heroin trade is dominated by aliens. *The New York Times* reported, "As the Mafia's role declines, the multi-billion-dollar heroin trade is increasingly being conducted by criminal organizations that together sound like a United Nations of drug smugglers, including Chinese, Thais, Pakistanis, Indians, Iranians, Afghans, Nigerians, and Israelis." Robert Stutman, a special agent for the FBI, noted that "these groups are posing a major challenge to law enforcement. We now are dealing with languages and cultures that we have no real depth in."

Until the federal government is willing to secure our borders, there is little hope that the 'war on drugs' can be won.

Conclusion

The alien-related crime that plagues this country is one of the consequences of failure to enact and enforce sensible immigration controls. The problem posed by alien criminals is not new. Since the early days of the Republic, foreign criminal elements have viewed this as a "land of opportunity."

In past years, our elected representatives passed laws to try to keep criminals out, and then enforced those statutes. But our current leaders lack the will to deal forthrightly with this issue.

Few communities in America have gone untouched by alien-related crime. As Prof. James O'Kane of Drew University observes in his new book, *The Crooked Ladder* (Transaction, 1992):

> *Ethnic organized crime among current minority newcomers is flourishing and ever-expanding, with no end in sight. At a time when FBI and Department of Justice offensives against Italian organized crime are beginning to bear fruit, new ethnic mobs appear to fill the vacuum. Police and organized crime task forces scarcely know what to do about these new groups and have their hands full merely trying to describe these activities, let alone control them. With respect to certain groups (e.g. Chinese, Japanese, Vietnamese, and Soviet Jews), police even lack undercover agents who speak the same language as the newcomer criminals!*
>
> *The prognosis for the elimination of ethnic organized crime is indeed grim. Compounding this reality is an equally depressing one: many of the former lower-income ethnic criminals have not necessarily become law-abiding citizens. Many simply have 'moved up' to white-collar crime, and as such, have blended with the dominant groups in American life...*
>
> *We constantly delude ourselves that ethnic organized crime is 'on the way out.'* ■

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David Simcox, currently residing in Louisville, KY, is a senior fellow at the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) in Washington, DC. and serves on the editorial board of The Social Contract.

The Nigerian Crime Network:

Feasting on America's Innocence and Slipshod ID System

By David Simcox

As many as 100,000 Nigerians are now in the United States. Nearly half of them originally entered the United States with nonimmigrant (temporary) foreign student visas. Citing Nigerian sources, U.S. law enforcement officials estimate that 75 to 90 percent of them have been involved in an impressive and innovative variety of fraud schemes, often using extensive Nigerian networks across the country. Nigerian crime in 1989 was estimated to cost the United States $1 billion. Law enforcement officials consider New York and Houston the hubs of Nigerian criminal activity, with significant problems also existing in Atlanta, New Orleans, Los Angeles and the Washington-Baltimore area.

The Nigerian mafia is well organized and sophisticated. Investigators have uncovered "classes" where earlier Nigerian settlers train newcomers to the U.S. in the subtle arts of credit card, banking and insurance fraud and keep up to date on new techniques. Police have discovered phony Nigerian companies that exist only to reply to credit inquiries and provide references and employment confirmation. A network of cells of three to fifteen members each have been found. Each cell of "boys" usually has an identifiable leader who acts as recruiter and trainer of new members, most of whom are found on college campuses. Unlike traditional organized crime, however, Nigerian organizations make no territorial claims, are highly mobile, and display no clear hierarchy.

Here are some of the Nigerian mafia's most common, and most lucrative, criminal practices:

- **Immigration and Citizenship Fraud**: The most common ploy is providing false information to get a visa from the American consul in Nigeria. This may involve the purchase from a corrupt U.S. college administrator of Form I-20, essential for admission to the U.S. as a student. Phony bank or employment records are used to prove the financial support required for the visa. Nigerians have frequently used sham marriages to U.S. citizens, claims of birth in the U.S. Virgin Islands, and counterfeit U.S. passports. Since Nigerian passports are issued with little documentary evidence of identity, many Nigerians have two or more under different aliases to facilitate fraud here.

- **Identification Fraud**: In the wide open U.S.A., the resourceful Nigerian has little problem in obtaining enough birth certificates, social security cards and driver's licenses to accompany *each* identity used. Often valid social security numbers of others are lifted from stolen company personnel documents. The California Department of Motor Vehicles, which controls license issuance more carefully than most states, found in 1989 that one Nigerian, Adedotun Kuku, had six different licenses. Four of his aliases used English surnames and one a Hispanic surname. Virtuosity at driver's license fraud led Nigerian networks into large scale resale of licenses to other aliens, often by bribery of state motor vehicle officials, along with their own versions of bogus social security cards and birth certificates.

- **Bank and Credit Card Fraud**: Stolen or fraudulently obtained credit cards are used for quick, large scale purchases of goods — for resale or for export to Nigeria — and then passed on to others in distant cities. High mobility has made investigations more difficult. Sometimes the line of credit is maintained by paying the account with kited or cold checks. Similarly, to obtain an Automated Teller (ATM) card, bank accounts are opened with the help of an American and with a cold check as initial deposit. Telephone credit card fraud is another Nigerian innovation. Stolen or fraudulently obtained phone credit cards and PIN numbers are used to sell

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reduced rate international calls to fellow Nigerians or other emigres.

The Nigerian mafia has engaged boldly in check forgery. In the late 1980s, a Nigerian mafia scheme to pass $30 million worth of counterfeit American Express travelers checks was broken up after $2 million were passed successfully. Printing plants in Florida and California were seized. Fraudulent letters of credit from Nigerian banks passed by prospective Nigerian "investors" or "export-import executives" have plagued some U.S. banks. Police in New York found Nigerians working for financial institutions and assisting other Nigerians to defraud those institutions.

Deportation of Criminal Aliens - 1991
Major Sending Countries

Sending Country	Total Legal Immigration	Crime/Narcotics Deportations
Mexico	946,167	9,624
Colombia	19,702	514
Jamaica	23,828	436
El Salvador	47,351	420
Dominican Republic	41,405	391
Guatemala	25,527	190
Honduras	11,451	166
Haiti	47,527	116
Nigeria	7,912	65

Source: Immigration and Naturalization Service

• **Welfare and Food Stamp Fraud**: The huge U.S. structure of entitlements remains an easy mark for Nigerians, who have little trouble mustering evidence of U.S. citizenship. Assistance programs for which eligibility is monitored by state governments have been particularly vulnerable. The continuing deadlock in Congress and the courts over whether to bar ineligible aliens from subsidized housing programs opens the door still further to widespread abuse by Nigerians, with little apparent concern by municipal housing authorities. The INS reported in 1985 that not only Nigerians, but migrants from neighboring West African nations, Ghana and Liberia "....are abusing our entitlement systems in a most organized and effective way."

• **Student Loan Fraud**: During the 1980s, Nigerians led the pack in gaining U.S. guaranteed student loans. The ease and simplicity of their success spotlights the incredible inefficiency of U.S. controls. They simply applied and listed themselves as U.S. citizens. For a good while, banking officials just took their word for it, as the loans were insured by the federal government in any event. As the rising default rate among those with Nigerian names began to raise questions, many Nigerians applied under English surname aliases. Multiple applications for student aid are not uncommon, though the Department of Education tightened procedures somewhat in the late 1980s. A Nigerian in the Baltimore area was found to have fifteen student loan accounts at three different schools, totalling $42,000. In a Chicago-area case, four members of the same family illegally obtained over $60,000 in student aid, lived in subsidized housing and received food stamps.

• **Insurance Fraud** is remarkable for its ingenuity, variety and chutzpa. Life insurance is taken out on someone who then "dies" in Nigeria. Providing the required death certificate is no problem. Phony car accidents are staged, along with thefts of goods that don't exist or that have been dispatched to Nigeria. Claims for fictitious lost baggage and personal injuries abound.

• **Heroin Trafficking** has become increasingly lucrative for the Nigerian networks. Most of the heroin is originally purchased in Pakistan and India and shipped to the U.S. through Nigeria or Europe, often using female couriers. The Washington-Baltimore area has been a preferred entry and sales region for Nigerian traffickers.

In the current surge of alien crime, the United States has seen such immigrant groups as Colombians, Dominicans, Jamaicans and Salvadorans unusually prone to criminal involvement. Unlike those groups, Nigerian immigrants represent their

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country's privileged elites, English-speaking and with educational achievement significantly above the immigrant average. Education may work to turn its immigrant possessors from crime over the long term, but for the Nigerians, it apparently has made them more adept at capitalizing on the trusting character of American institutions and the weakness of the country's identification procedures.

We can only speculate about the motives of the Nigerian over-achiever turned criminal. The culture from which he springs is notorious for corruption and non-existent business ethics, even by African standards. The openness and innocence of the U.S. way of doing things presents an irresistible appeal to the newcomer from a society where corner-cutting is a way of life. One indicted Nigerian bad check artist told investigators in 1985 that Nigerian students are forced into crime to pay their bills. He held the U.S government responsible for Nigerian crime because "immigration regulations prevent students from working and scholarship payments are slow coming from Nigeria."

However self-serving, such comments confirm that U.S. Consuls have been doing a poor job of testing the financial solvency of seekers of student visas. Once the Nigerians arrive and take on criminal ways, the INS lacks the personnel or funds to locate and remove them. Law enforcement officers continue to complain of an ineffective deportation process — though there has been some improvement since special criminal aliens legislation was enacted in the mid-1980s. Nevertheless, appeals and other procedures can take years, allowing criminals additional time to commit crimes and assume new identities. Cases continue to turn up in which deported Nigerians have returned to the United States, in itself a felony, and resumed their criminal careers.

The Need for Identification Safeguards

Finally, the ease with which Nigerians have found the cracks in U.S. identification safeguards points up how defenseless many American institutions are — and unnecessarily so. The unwillingness of banks, for example, to share information on cardholders allows many persons to use the same identifying information to obtain cards. Financial institutions often do not verify information provided on credit card applications. State government social assistance agencies, and some federal ones, check perfunctorily, or not at all, on the citizenship status of applicants for costly assistance programs. One cause is the continuing tendency of service providers to think of screening and enforcement as "not their job." The INS entitlements verification system (SAVE) legislated in 1986 checks only those applicants who own up to being non-citizens. The INS data base ostensibly covering all the nation's aliens still contains many omissions, and the Social Security Administration has consistently refused to provide the data that would strengthen the system.

States issue drivers' licenses without verifying legal immigrant status — only three states now bar illegal aliens from licenses — and allow officials little time to check suspect ID documents. The prospective passage of "Motor-Voter legislation" will place new burdens on motor vehicle administrators, but may have the benefit of conditioning them to be more attentive to applicants' citizenship status. No major breakthrough against false identity is likely until the states impose much higher security standards on the issuance of birth certificates and drivers' licenses. The rapidly advancing technology of biometric identification gives the states a capacity to obtain a unique and permanent identification fix on 175 million holders of drivers' licenses and state ID cards and future applicants for them. Similar techniques would permit federal tracking of the more than one million illegal aliens arrested or cited yearly. New developments in automated fingerprint ID systems make possible the computer coding, storage and comparison of hundreds of millions of prints. Persons arriving on these shores may still give a false identity, but with biometrics that person will be locked into a single identity for a lifetime. ■

[This article was based in part on reports and exhibits of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the U.S. Congress; on *The Nigerian Mafia,* a 1989 study by the Los Angeles Police Department; and on data from the Immigration and Naturalization Service.]

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As noted elsewhere in this issue, the prevalence of immigrant gangs is contributing to crime on the American scene. Chief Jim Kouri is 3rd national vice-president of the National Association of Chiefs of Police and a frequent contributor to law enforcement journals.

Are We Truly Winning the War on Drugs?

By Jim Kouri

Who's winning the war on drugs, the good guys or the bad guys? For many Americans the answer appears elusive, even a bit confusing. On the one hand, the federal government makes claims of success through drug enforcement and prevention programs, while on the other drug-related crime and violence continue to plague the nation.

The White House recently reported that:

- There is an 11 percent reduction in drug use in the U.S.
- Casual cocaine use is down by 29 percent.
- Teenage drug abuse is down by 13 percent.
- The number of frequent cocaine users is down a promising 35 percent.

Encouraging news? Yes, but a study conducted by the National Narcotics Intelligence Consumers Committee, and subsequently reported in *Police Times*, suggests the opposite of the federal statistics. According to the NNICC report, there is an increase in the number of drug users in the U.S. in 1991 from 1.6 million to 1.9 million — a significant 300,000 more drug users. The report did show progress with Americans, ages 12 to 17, using less.

The federal anti-drug strategy for the most part focused on cocaine, since, in the years following 1984, in the form of crack, it was the obvious drug of choice for the majority of users. Drug-enforcement officials were thrown a curve when heroin and methamphetamine began making a comeback, especially in smokable forms not requiring IV needles. The war on drugs appears to have widened as a result, especially in the area of interdiction. Southeast Asia joined South America as points of origin and likely targets for enforcement agencies.

But while government officials are optimistic about the so-called drug war, others feel progress is slow coming. Some political leaders, like New York's Congressman Charles Rangel, claim that the statistics released are racially disparate and only reflect drug patterns within the white, middle-class segment of the U.S. population. Rangel believes that not enough is being done to help poor blacks in the nation's inner cities.

Development No. 1

Columbian Heroin and Asian Methamphetamine

To add to the overwhelming problem of substance abuse and its by-products crime and violence, several developments have occurred at the global level — for example: Colombian-grown, processed, and exported heroin; and Asian-manufactured methamphetamine, a stimulant of the central nervous system available in a smokable form known as 'ice.'

It is a given that the Colombian drug gangs are key players in the international cocaine trade, and reports indicate that they are now expanding their markets in Europe. In November, 1992, Philip Caruso, president of the New York Police Benevolent Association, warned that Ireland would be the "key to expansion of [Colombian drug gangs'] business into Europe." Captain Caruso suggested that Ireland operate joint police/military patrols along the Irish coast and strengthen naval and aerial surveillance programs.

While expanding operations for cocaine distribution in Europe, Colombian drug cartels are increasing shipments of heroin into the United States. Police intelligence reports indicate that as far back as 1984, Colombian drug kingpins experimented with growing poppies and extracting the milky paste from which heroin is produced. The Andean foothills of Cauca produced excellent crops of poppy plants and cultivation has increased over the years. The rough, mountainous terrain of the Andes also provides help

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in hiding processing laboratories.

Be that as it may, the Colombian drug lords are not invincible. U.S.-led drug enforcement activity has seriously crippled the Medellin and Cali cartels, which may explain their eagerness to shift operations to the somewhat "virgin" European marketplace.

"The trafficking in 'ice' appears to be controlled by a small group of Asians and affiliated gangs..."

In the case of methamphetamines, which began appearing in Hawaii and parts of California in 1989 (although predictions of epidemic ice abuse have not materialized), the drug is being seen on the East Coast, especially in New York City, where DEA agents seized 900 grams of ice from two Korean traffickers. While most forms of methamphetamine are produced domestically, ice is produced in Hong Kong, Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, and the Philippines. The trafficking in ice appears to be controlled by a small group of Asians and affiliated gangs, according to a paper released by the Bureau of Justice Statistics. The principal trafficking groups are the Vietnamese, Filipinos, and Chinese. It is ironic that the drug methamphetamine originated in Japan in 1919, and the Japanese continue to play a large role in that drug's manufacture. This aspect of the global drug trade continues to be investigated.

Development No. 2

The Russians are Coming! The Russians are Coming!

In a story appearing in the *International Drug Report*, Wolfgang Dicke of the German Police Union said there is a large increase in money laundering and drug trafficking from eastern Europe.

On the European front, gangs from former Iron Curtain countries are involved in developing new routes, especially Russian, Polish, and Czech crime gangs. The latest crime figures for Europe indicate there has been a sharp increase in drug-related crime, with France in the forefront. Experts warn that European police forces will experience soaring drug-related crime rates as more drugs hit the streets. Even so-called "soft drugs" have been seen at all-time high levels.

In response to the Russian and eastern European gang threat, 17 nations began meetings and proposed the formation of a European version of the Federal Bureau of Investigation called Europol, with the specific task of targeting and combating drug smugglers. Some police officials oppose the idea however, citing the needless extra layer of bureaucracy such a move would bring about.

Development No. 3

The Cuban Connection: Castro's Drug War

In his article for *The National Review*, paramilitary expert and freelance journalist Martin Arostegui cited dictator Fidel Castro as a major drug trafficker. Castro made a show of the court martials of 14 of his military officers on trumped-up charges of drug-smuggling. According to Arostegui's sources, including General Patricio de la Guardia, Cuba's beloved war hero, the trials of the army officers were a result of a suspected DEA attempt to kidnap Castro's interior minister. Drug-enforcement officials believe the Ministry of the Interior, working with renegade financier Robert Vesco, is deeply involved in recycling drug money to finance international terrorism. There is also evidence of a deeply entrenched Cuban 'mafia' operating in the Caribbean with close ties to the Colombian gangs. Carlos Lehder, a captured Colombian drug runner, testified before a U.S. federal court about personal meetings he had with Castro and his brother Raul, Cuba's ruthless defense minister.

The Cuban-Colombian connection may broaden with the resurging heroin trade targeted at the U.S. since, in today's marketplace, heroin is more lucrative than cocaine — one kilo of heroin sells for about $170,000, while a similar amount of cocaine garners only $16,000.

The American Political Scene

What are our elected officials doing while law-enforcement officers wage a seemingly endless drug war? It seems that several political figures are more adept at cop-bashing than waging any kind of war on crime and drugs. Some of these elected leaders appear to even ignore the pleas of citizens to rid their neighborhoods of drug dealers and other assorted hoodlums. One big city mayor even spent taxpayers' money to pay funeral and burial expenses for a known drug dealer, at the same time pushing for a Civilian Review Board to harass police officers.

During the last presidential election campaign,

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there was more discourse about the U.S. economy and a non-existent, politically fabricated recession than there was on the subject of crime, violence, and substance abuse. In fact, one of President Clinton's first cabinet appointees was a man more concerned with investigating police officers and departments than dealing with street thugs, let alone international crime gangs.

The Numbers Game

In a disturbing and biting article for *Security Management* magazine, Lt. Col. Timothy Capron, commander of the Nuclear Weapons Training Detachment at the Inter-service Nuclear Weapons School, blasted the use of crime statistics by politicians, much of it manipulation of the numbers. Colonel Capron said, "Crime reports to the FBI were and still are voluntary. This reporting [by local governments], often self-serving, capricious, and arbitrary, was never audited." Capron claims that if a jurisdiction wanted to hire more officers, it would report everything. The department would then receive the funds for more officers, with the political leaders taking their bows. Then the reporting would somehow become less thorough, and, as a result, the statistics would show a decrease in crime.

Colonel Capron's article is a landmark piece since it addresses a subject considered taboo by many.

There have been many other new developments in the drug war. Some are encouraging, while others are discouraging. Who is winning the war on drugs and crime? The jury is still out on that one. ■

Churches, Immigration and Assimilation

The "settlement house" movement at the beginning of this century drew religious activists into the inner cities to help "socialize" the immigrant. In 1921, Georgia Harkness, then an instructor in the Boston University School of Religious Education and Social Service, published her Master's thesis entitled The Church and the Immigrant *which became useful as a handbook for settlement movement workers. Dr. Harkness, a renowned exponent of the "social gospel," later became professor of theology at the Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, IL, and at the Pacific School of Religion in Berkeley, CA. She died in 1974.*

The attitude we have adopted toward the new immigration has varied as widely as the American temperament. Many have churlishly advocated the exclusion of all immigrants for the benefit of the American workman. Others, moved by sentiment rather than sense, have urged us to fling wide the doors and take in everybody. The terms of entry which we may rightfully impose upon the immigrant... are determined by the requirements of public safety, public health, and public order (p. 17).

The most direct and immediate need of the immigrant is the ability to speak and understand English. ...No nation can thrive without like-mindedness among its people. ...In America we must build a like-minded citizenry ... with a common language as the medium of communication (pp. 56-57).

— Georgia Harkness, *The Church and the Immigrant*
(New York: George H. Doran Company, 1921)

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Problems associated with illegal immigration are not mere abstractions to people living in California. Barbara McCarthy is the editor of Eleven Ninety-Nine, *published by the Stamp Out Crime Council (P.O. Box 17451, San Diego, CA 92177).*

Memo From the San Diego Border

By Barbara McCarthy

The search this year for an Attorney General who has a clean record and has never hired illegal aliens may serve as an introduction to the problems this country has with illegal immigration — problems more familiar to those of us who live near the border.

Among the many responsibilities of the Justice Department, headed by the Attorney General, is that of running the Immigration and Naturalization Service as well as the Border Patrol. The Border Patrol is charged with keeping anyone from entering the country *between* official ports of entry. Each year the Border Patrol intercepts well over a million people trying to enter illegally, nearly half of those in the San Diego area. Of the total 1,000,000-plus, about 95 percent try to cross our southern border, 3 percent come in from the north, and 2 percent are apprehended in the southeast. They are returned to their countries of origin, either voluntarily or through legal process. It is estimated that at least one person makes successful entry for each one picked up, but it is quite possible that two or three get through — they can't count the ones they don't catch. There are far too few Border Patrol personnel to catch and return all of them.

The other part of the Attorney General's responsibility as regards immigration is the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). One of this agency's roles is to staff ports of entry, to verify that those who enter the country are doing so legally. These may be citizens returning from trips to other countries, or visitors with permission to enter. Customs, a separate agency under the Treasury Department, also staffs ports of entry. Agents of the INS and Customs are cross-trained in both areas of responsibility.

The INS plays many roles. In addition to staffing ports of entry, agents examine people trying to adjust their status in this country; they deal with relatives of current immigrants who also want to enter the U.S.; they handle the detention and deportation of criminal aliens, maintaining (in our area) a 450-bed detention facility in El Centro, CA. They are involved in investigations of criminal activities by aliens — anti-fraud, anti-smuggling, alien gangs. In this area they also have a facility to care for women and children who have been found crossing illegally but have for some reason lost contact with the paid smuggler and the rest of their party. Some children are found wandering all alone in the immediate area of the border. They are turned over to the Casa de San Juan which even has a school for the youngsters. Since the passage of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA), which gave amnesty to 3,000,000 illegals in exchange for forbidding employers to hire illegals, the INS is charged with locating employers who hire illegals and following through with appropriate legal action — which certainly adds significantly to its duties.

There simply are not enough agents to perform all these tasks, and the Congress seems neither to know nor to care.

Why We Should Do Better

Every country has the right to control its borders and to decide who may enter and who may not. Each country attempts to do that. Many countries have no problems with illegal entry because nobody wants to go there — sometimes because of grinding poverty with no hope of improvement, sometimes because of terrorist governments. The favorite destination for entry, legal and illegal, is the United States. We accept more immigrants, refugees and asylees than all the other countries of the world combined.

It is the responsibility of our government to control our borders, to see that only those with permission enter. Article IV, Section 4 of the Constitution states that the federal government shall protect the states from invasion. In truth, we are invaded daily and the federal government falls flat on its face and will not deal with the problem. The

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INS is given the wherewithal to do no more than make a gesture in its attempt to exert control. There are those who say that since our southern border is 2,000 miles long we would have to have agents shoulder to shoulder along that entire length to prevent illegal entry. This is utter nonsense. Most of those 2,000 miles are desert or rough mountain terrain almost impossible to cross on foot, or even with vehicles. There are approximately 200 miles of border area that are relatively easy to cross, primarily in the San Diego (CA) and El Paso (TX) areas. Enough personnel with proper equipment would make a great difference along those 200 miles.

Who Are the Illegals?

Just who are these people who enter illegally? Every year, in the San Diego sector alone, people from 60 to 70 countries are intercepted. The great majority are from Mexico with a fair sprinkling from Central America. Others are from the rest of the world. Most are escaping poverty in their home countries and believe they will fare much better here. The backlog for legal entry is lengthy and they are unwilling to wait their turn.

"Substantial numbers [of illegals] will body-carry a few pounds of marijuana or cocaine to be delivered north of the border. They do this for their smugglers who will accept it as payment for guiding them across the border."

Having once made successful entry, some illegal aliens get work in the agricultural fields of San Diego and points north and east. This tends to be the picture most people have of what happens to them. Actually, a very small percentage take such work. Others find jobs in factories, in the construction business, in the service sector, or, as in the case of the Attorney General nominees, in private homes as nannies, maids, gardeners, etc. Every employer who hires them has violated IRCA, of course. There are a great many employers who not only break the law but exploit their illegal employees badly. They rarely pay the going wage. There are usually no taxes paid for them, no income tax withheld, no Social Security tax paid, no medical coverage of any kind. When these people become ill and need medical care, who pays for it? In one way or another we all do. They use public hospitals for care. Many women arrive well along in their pregnancies for the express purpose of delivering in this country. Their babies then automatically become U.S. citizens and are entitled to all the welfare programs that citizenship allows. Representative Elton Gallegly (R-CA) has introduced legislation which would make a number of changes, including removing automatic citizenship for the children of non-citizens born here.

Some illegals enter this country with direct intent to commit crimes. Close to the border area, auto theft is a favored activity. The vehicles tend to be either sold to chop shops on this side of the border, or taken south and sold as is. Many illegals are involved in the drug traffic. Substantial numbers will body-carry a few pounds of marijuana or cocaine to be delivered north of the border. They do this for their smugglers who will accept it as payment for guiding them across the border.

Others are involved in much larger drug transactions and will attempt to drive a large load across the border and make a substantial profit. Many have done this successfully, using their vehicles to knock down an old fence or to drive through the gap left by a previous dealer. A new and tougher but incomplete fence which runs for several miles is beginning to make a change. Entry now tends to be where the fence is missing, and it is far easier for the Border Patrol to intercept loads when they are channeled by the fence into observable areas, and to increase the amounts of drugs seized — marijuana, cocaine, and even heroin.

Other illegals are not involved in obvious crime, but more subtle fraud. They are quite willing to try to use for their own benefit the system this country has devised to take care of its poor. Mexico and many other countries have far less adequate systems to provide housing, food, medical care, and other services for their needy citizens. We can only guess how many illegals are using billions of tax dollars worth of services to which they are not entitled.

One way of getting into the system is to purchase fake documents, available on the streets in many areas, including Los Angeles, for about $50, which purport to show that the bearer has a right to work here, is eligible for food stamps or general assistance, etc. Illegals have managed to pick up

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Social Security numbers, including duplicating legitimate ones belonging to citizens.

Many of the young people, especially in Los Angeles but increasingly in other areas, belong to dangerous and violent street gangs and commit many crimes, including homicide. During the LA riots last spring, a substantial number of young illegal looters was rounded up and sent back to Mexico.

Hard figures about crime are extremely difficult to obtain for many reasons. Most politicians are terrified of dealing with the issue lest they be called "racist." Many agencies are forbidden to try to discover whether papers presented to them are valid, and sometimes to even ask for documentation. On occasion, those working at agencies where they could ask a few questions refuse to do so — they feel sorry for poor people; immigration status is of no concern.

"It is geography, of course, that causes California to bear a disproportionate share of these costs. Yet, to a lesser extent, every part of the country is affected."

Consider the following figures which are probably on the low side because of lack of reporting or record-keeping:

- A study in San Diego County showed that the estimated 200,000 undocumented living here cost a net $146 million per year just in criminal justice, health and welfare expenses.
- A Los Angeles County study found that at least 11 percent of the criminals in their county jails are illegal, deportable aliens with a cost to taxpayers of some $75.1 million per year.
- Illegal alien minors in California who have broken not only federal law by illegal entry, but state penal codes, are being held in California Youth Authority facilities at a cost of $31,000 per youngster, for a total cost of $20,150,000 in FY 1991.
- New York State has so many illegals in prisons that the state corrections commissioner announced that it cost the state's taxpayers over $100 million a year.

The net cost to Los Angeles county for illegal aliens and their children for FY 1991/92 was $400 million. In addition, illegal aliens and their children cost LA County schools $1.03 billion during that same time period. In 1991, there were 28,829 babies born to illegal aliens in LA County hospitals, which is 66 percent of total births. As of June 1992, about 150,000 children of undocumented parents were on welfare. Of the first 6,000 people arrested during the 1992 riots, one-third were illegal aliens. Forty percent of illegal aliens released from the Los Angeles County jail were rearrested within one year.

It is geography, of course, that causes California to bear a disproportionate share of these costs. Yet, to a lesser extent, every part of the country is affected. The impact of uncontrolled illegal immigration falls on other border states, especially Texas. Florida has its own problems, and such cities as Detroit, Chicago, Denver and Kansas City have experienced problems with illegal alien activity and the high costs involved. When the federal government picks up any of these bills, it is felt by all of the taxpayers.

There is currently some discussion about combining Customs and the INS, since both deal with our borders. This could be effective or it could be a disaster, depending on several factors, not the least of which is: how knowledgeable will the people in our nation's capital be — those who would be in charge? Would the move simply increase the size of the bureaucracy which seems to be composed, for the most part, of people who have only microscopic levels of information about the overall problem?

Finally, it might be well to point out that some of the loudest voices to be heard on the topic of our borders are those of self-anointed "leaders" who, for their own reasons (often financial), want open borders and insist that illegals have a right to everything they can get from government. (There is a growing movement to give non-citizens, including illegals, the right to vote in all elections.) Let us be aware that, as the polls clearly show, these leaders do not speak even for most legal immigrants — including both the newcomers who came recently and did everything according to the law, as well as those whose families have been in this country for generations. These law-abiding migrants are also adamantly in favor of controlled borders. ■

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Alan Durning is a senior researcher at the Worldwatch Institute. This essay consists of excerpts from his new book, How Much Is Enough? *(New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1992).*

How Much Is Enough?

By Alan Durning

The wildfire spread of the consumer life-style around the world marks the most rapid and fundamental change in day-to-day existence the human species has ever experienced. Over a few short generations we have become car drivers, television watchers, mall shoppers, and throw-away buyers. The tragic irony of this momentous transition is that the historic rise of the consumer society has been quite effective in harming the environment, but not in providing the people with a fulfilling life....

Measured in constant dollars, the world's people have consumed as many goods and services since 1950 as all previous generations put together. Since 1940, Americans alone have used up as large a share of the earth's mineral resources as did everyone before them combined....

The average resident of an industrial country consumes 3 times as much fresh water, 10 times as much energy, and 19 times as much aluminum as someone in a developing country. The ecological impacts of our consumption even reach into the local environments of the poor. Our appetite for wood and minerals, for example, motivates the road builders who open tropical rain forests to poor settlers, resulting in the slash-and-burn forest clearing that is condemning countless species to extinction.

High consumption translates into huge impacts. In industrial countries, the fuels burned release perhaps three-fourths of the sulfur and nitrogen oxides that cause acid rain. Industrial countries' factories generate most of the world's hazardous chemical wastes. Their military facilities have built more than 99 percent of the world's nuclear warheads. Their atomic power plants have generated more than 96 percent of the world's radioactive waste. And their air conditioners, aerosol sprays, and factories release almost 90 percent of the chlorofluorocarbons that destroy the earth's protective ozone layer....

Only population growth rivals high consumption as a cause of ecological decline, and at least population growth is now viewed as a problem by many governments and citizens of the world. Consumption, in contrast, is almost universally seen as good—indeed, increasing it is the primary goal of national economic policy....

José Goldemberg of the University of São Paulo and an international team of researchers conducted a careful study of the potential to cut fossil fuel consumption through maximizing efficiency and making full use of renewable energy. The entire world population, they concluded, could live at roughly the level of West Europeans in the mid-seventies — with things like modest but comfortable homes, refrigeration for food, clothes washers, a moderate amount of hot water, and ready access to public transit, augmented by limited auto use.

The study's implicit conclusion, however, is that the entire world could not live in the style of Americans, with their larger homes, more numerous electrical gadgets, and auto-centered transportation. Goldemberg's scenario, furthermore, may be too generous. It would not reduce global carbon emissions by anything like the 60-80 percent that the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change believes necessary to stabilize the world's climate....

Of course, the opposite of overconsumption — destitution — is no solution to either environmental or human problems. It is infinitely worse for people and bad for the natural world, too. Dispossessed peasants slash-and-burn their way into the rain forests of Latin America, hungry nomads turn their herds out onto fragile African rangeland, reducing it to desert, and small farmers in India and the Philippines cultivate steep slopes, exposing them to the erosive powers of rain. Perhaps half the world's billion-plus absolute poor are caught in a downward spiral of ecological and economic impoverishment. In desperation, they knowingly abuse the land, salvaging the present by savaging the future....

Redefining Our Needs

If environmental destruction results when people have either too little or too much, we are left to

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wonder, How much is enough? What level of consumption can the earth support? When does having more cease to add appreciably to human satisfaction? Is it possible for all the world's people to live comfortably without bringing on the decline of the planet's natural health? Is there a level of living above poverty and subsistence but below the consumer life-style — a level of sufficiency? Could all the world's people have central heating? Refrigerators? Clothes dryers? Automobiles? Air conditioning?

"If the life-supporting ecosystems of the planet are to survive for future generations, the consumer society will have to dramatically curtail its use of resources..."

Many of these questions cannot be answered definitively, but for each of us in the consumer society, asking is essential nonetheless. Unless we see that more is not always better, our efforts to forestall ecological decline will be overwhelmed by our appetites. Unless we ask, we will likely fail to see the forces around us that stimulate those appetites, such as relentless advertising, proliferating shopping centers, and social pressures to "keep up with the Joneses." We may overlook forces that make consumption more destructive than it need be, such as subsidies to mines, paper mills, and other industries with high environmental impacts. And we may not act on opportunities to improve our lives while consuming less, such as working fewer hours to spend more time with family and friends.

Still, the difficulty of transforming the consumer society into a sustainable one can scarcely be overestimated. We consumers enjoy a life-style that almost everybody else aspires to, and why shouldn't they? Who would just as soon not have an automobile, a big house on a big lot, and complete control over indoor temperature throughout the year? The momentum of centuries of economic history and the material cravings of 5.5 billion people lie on the side of increasing consumption.

We may be, therefore, in a conundrum — a problem admitting of no satisfactory solution. Limiting the consumer life-style to those who have already attained it is not politically possible, morally defensible, or ecologically sufficient. And extending that life-style to all would simply hasten the ruin of the biosphere. The global environment cannot support 1.1 billion of us living like American consumers, much less 5.5 billion people, or a future population of at least 8 billion. On the other hand, reducing the consumption levels of the consumer society and tempering material aspirations elsewhere, though morally acceptable, is a quixotic proposal. It bucks the trend of centuries. Yet it may be the only option.

If the life-supporting ecosystems of the planet are to survive for future generations, the consumer society will have to dramatically curtail its use of resources — partly by shifting to high-quality, low-input durable goods and partly by seeking fulfillment through leisure, human relationships, and other nonmaterial avenues. We in the consumer society will have to live a technologically sophisticated version of the life-style currently practiced lower on the economic ladder. Scientific advances, better laws, restructured industries, new treaties, environmental taxes, grassroots campaigns — all can help us get there. But ultimately, sustaining the environment that sustains humanity will require that we change our values....

Some guidance is thus needed on what combination of technical changes and value changes would make a comfortable — if nonconsumer — life-style possible for all without endangering the biosphere. From a purely ecological perspective the crucial categories are energy, materials, and ecosystems, but such categories are abstract. For a more tangible approach, [we must] focus on three aspects of daily life: what we eat and drink, how we get around, and the things we buy and use. In each case, the world's people are distributed unevenly over a vast range, with those at the bottom consuming too little for their own good—and those at the top consuming too much for the earth's good....

Searching for Sufficiency

The supply lines that feed the consumer class encircle the globe. From large urban supermarkets, they fan out to Philippine plantations, American grain fields, African rangeland, and Indian spice farms. North Europeans eat lettuce trucked from

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Greece. Japanese dine on Australian ostrich meat by the ton and American cherries by the airplane-load. One-fourth of the grapes Americans eat come from 7,000 kilometers away, in Chile, and half the orange juice they drink comes from Brazil. Europeans get fruit from as far away as Australia and New Zealand....

These global supply lines leave indelible marks on the terrestrial ecosystems they traverse. Malaysian planters spray lindane and aldrin — chemicals forbidden in the United States — on the cocoa that turns into sweets for the consumer class. Cattle ranching for export to American, European, and Middle Eastern consumers is one motive behind the clearing of millions of hectares of South and Central American rain forests, while commercial ranches in Botswana that produce beef for Europe have decimated the nation's herds of migrating wildebeests.

Coastal ecosystems are affected as well. Banana plantations on Saint Lucia in the Caribbean have taken over much of the island's tropical forestland and driven small farmers into the hills, where their slash-and-burn crop cultivation allows soil to wash downstream, choking coastal seagrass ecosystems with silt. Sugar plantations on Fiji that supply the European Community have taken over 4,000 hectares of mangrove forest — despite the low agricultural yields of converted mangrove soils....

If all the world's people nourished themselves with the consumer class's regimen of meat, heavily packaged and processed foods and drinks and specialties transported great distances, we would use more energy just for food and drinks than we currently do for all purposes — along with other natural resources in equally mammoth quantities. The ultimate goal of reforming food and beverage systems worldwide, then, should not be to raise the poor and middle income into the consumer class but to bring about a convergence of the three groups. From the middle-income class would come the basic menu of an abundance of locally grown produce and clean drinking water. From the consumer class would come technologies such as small, super-efficient refrigerators, advanced cooking stoves, and hot water for washing. The result of such convergence would be healthier people and a healthier planet....

Taming Consumerism

The world economy is currently organized to furnish 1.1 billion people with a consumer life-style long on things but short on time. The prospect of restructuring that economy is daunting, but the consume-or-decline argument, which holds high consumption indispensable for employing workers and combating deprivation, is ungrounded. High consumption is a precondition to neither full employment nor the end of poverty....

"In the final analysis, accepting and living by sufficiency rather than excess offers a return to what is, culturally speaking, the human home..."

If our grandchildren are to inherit a planet as bounteous and beautiful as we have enjoyed, we in the consumer class must — without surrendering the quest for advanced, clean technology — eat, travel, and use energy and materials more like those on the middle rung of the world's economic ladder. If we can learn to do so, we might find ourselves happier as well, for in the consumer society, affluence has brought us to a strange pass. Who would have predicted a century ago that the richest civilizations in history would be made up of polluted tracts of suburban development dominated by the private automobile, shopping malls, and a throwaway economy? Surely, this is not the ultimate fulfillment of our destiny.

In the final analysis, accepting and living by sufficiency rather than excess offers a return to what is, culturally speaking, the human home: to the ancient order of family, community, good work, and good life; to a reverence for skill, creativity and creation; to a daily cadence slow enough to let us watch the sunset and stroll by the water's edge; to communities worth spending a lifetime in; and to local places pregnant with the memories of generations. Perhaps Henry David Thoreau had it right when he scribbled in his notebook beside Walden Pond, "A man is rich in proportion to the things he can afford to let alone." ■

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The idea of constant growth has captured the imagination of Westerners; the patron saint of this viewpoint is Julian Simon, a professor of marketing. In his recent book, The Technological Bluff, *author Jacques Ellul uses Simon's writing as the prime example of a misguided reliance on limitless expansion. Jacques Ellul is professor emeritus of law and of the sociology and history of institutions at the University of Bordeaux, France. This excursus on Simon is reprinted by permission of Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Grand Rapids, MI,* © 1990.

No Limits to Population Growth?

Exposing Julian Simon's Bluff

By Jacques Ellul

I want to discuss Julian Simon's book *The Ultimate Resource,* which deals with demographic growth, natural resources, and the standard of living.

The fine title of the French edition, *L'Homme, notre derniere chance* (Humanity, Our Last Chance), might suggest that this is a humanist work amid the perils of the age. It is not. Its focus is on the growth in population. It shows that this might double, triple, and quadruple, but concludes that this is a good thing and raises no problems. I will not go into that matter and may thus ignore the last few chapters, which defend this point of view, attack its opponents, and proclaim the author's own values. The preceding twenty chapters, however, merit attention because I have seldom seen a book which is so absurd in the realms of economics (the author is an economist) and technology.

"The author's theses are quite remarkable because they run up against all that analysts of the modern world more or less admit."

In the chapters which follow I plan to study the "average" technological discourse in trying to discern the bluff in it. Simon's work offers us an extreme example which it is useful to analyze. To begin with, Simon pretends to be rigorously scientific, and he accuses his opponents, especially in the report of the Club of Rome and the English report on *The Limits to Growth,* of trickery and scientific error. We must examine this accusation. He himself thinks that being scientific means presenting statistics, graphs, and percentages; his work is full of them. But one of the most interesting aspects is precisely the fact that statistics and graphs inserted in false reasoning are of no help. This observation seems to me to be significant: Simply providing accurate data is not enough. To be truly scientific one must also have sound hypotheses and correct reasoning.

The author's theses are quite remarkable because they run up against all that analysts of the modern world more or less admit. This nonconformity would not displease me if it were not so disconcertingly naive. The author is a liberal economist, but of a kind of liberalism that one no longer sees — an absolute liberalism. For him, in all circumstances, the market is the place of equal and perfect competition. The best will always prevail. For him there is nothing to stop the free circulation of workers (who will automatically go where the pay is highest) or capital. He sets out his fundamental theses at the start. There is no food problem in the world. The situation improved constantly from 1950 to 1980. New land came into cultivation and agriculture will expand as needed. Natural resources are unlimited and become increasingly available. The future of energy is just as bright; there are no limits to the development of sources. Pollution does not exist. Air and water are purer than in 1850 and will become even purer. There is no reason to want to arrest population growth, for density of population has no pathological consequences and poses no obstacles. These are the principal theses that the author "demonstrates" in the first twenty chapters.

The arguments rest on two foundations. First, experts cannot arrive at any certain results. Their estimates of potential energy reserves in oil, copper, steel, coal, etc., have all turned out to be wrong. The only incontestable criterion is economic. It is the

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market. We may thus dismiss technical data relating to pollution and the exhaustion of nonrenewable resources. This is interesting in an author who, as we shall see, justifies technical potential. The second foundation is that there are no limits. In every field the idea of a limit is false. For example, in mathematics this term is ambiguous. One might say that the distance between two fixed points is limited, but there might still be an unlimited number of points between them. Again, no one can say in any field what the limit is. What is the limit of pollution? of copper reserves, etc.? No one can say. Hence, there is no limit! "There is no necessity either in logic or in historical trends to suggest that the supply of any given resource is 'finite'" (p.50). For lack of a precise definition, we may say that an object is not finite.

Let us take oil. The potential of one well can be measured; it is thus limited. But we cannot measure the number of wells in the world, and therefore we cannot know or measure potential production in an absolute sense. Hence the term *limit* makes no sense. Even if one could arrive at an estimate, one would have to add that better techniques might be able to reach new levels more easily, or make it possible to turn coal into oil, or enable us to derive oil from other sources. Nuclear energy is also inexhaustible. Even if sources for nuclear energy ran out on earth, "sources of energy exist on other planets."

"The author rejects totally the ability of experts. For him price is the only strict criterion."

The optimism of this economist rests, then, on an absolute belief in unlimited progress. Whenever a difficulty arises, "technical progress will deal with it." We have here an absolute form of the technological bluff. Let us consider some further strange examples of this so-called scientific thinking. How can one measure the scarcity of a product? The author rejects totally the ability of experts. For him price is the only strict criterion. When something is in short supply, it is costly. When it is marketed well, it is in good supply. Copper is an illustration. It fell in price between 1800 and 1980. More of it is sold today. The price has fallen continuously, and therefore there is no reason why this should not continue, and why copper should not become more abundant. By extrapolation we thus have a proof that copper reserves are unlimited!

The author constantly extrapolates from his graphs. He seems not to be aware that for the last thirty years forecasters and futurologist have not proceeded by linear extrapolation. He uses the same procedure for the food supply. The price of grain has gone down steadily over the last century; this means that grain is in abundant supply and this will continue indefinitely. "It is a fact, then, that the world food supply has been improving" (p. 59). There is no fear of famine or inadequate supplies. "'While there have been *some* deaths due to famine in the third quarter of the 20th century, it is *highly unlikely* that the famine-caused deaths equal a tenth of the period 75 years earlier. ...The percentage of the world's population who find themselves subject to actual famine conditions is probably lower now than at any time in the past'" (pp. 61-62, emphasis added). The example of London in 1880 shows that pollution is not as bad as it used to be, as though London were the only place on earth that suffers from pollution!

Let us return to technical ideology. There need be no fear about the food supply because new technical inventions will at least double production. Thus giant mirrors reflecting sunlight on the dark side of the earth might speed up growth. And if a limit is ever reached according to the law of diminishing returns, the whole galaxy is at our disposal. There lie the true pastures in the sky. We can begin mining the moon by 1990. Satellites for solar energy can supply energy needs from the year 2000. Satellites can also be used for agricultural and industrial purposes from the 1980s (p. 89). We will really have to hurry up! Again we are wrong to fear pollution. But we must begin by setting aside the advice of experts. The fact that their estimates differ proves their incompetence. Happily, the author has other criteria. He starts with statistics showing that people live longer in the West. This proves that the environment is healthier than it was. Simon seems to think that all illnesses come from the environment. When listing those that have disappeared, he ignores medical advances and new medications, e.g., antibiotics. It is hardly believable. "Life expectancy is the best index of the state of health-related

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pollution. And by this measure, pollution has been declining steadily and sharply for decades" (p. 131). There has been pollution, but modern techniques have improved the quality of the environment. In the USA the quality of air and water is much better. "The proportion of water-quality observations that had 'good' drinking water rose from just over 40 percent in 1961 to about 60 percent in 1974" (p. 133). "There is no contaminating factor in the environment ... that defies a technical solution'" (p. 139). The same applies to the extension of areas that can be cultivated. "The notion of a fixed supply of farmland is as misleading as is the notion of a fixed supply of copper or energy. That is, people create land — agricultural land — by investing their sweat, blood, money, and ingenuity in it" (p. 225). The proof is that the amount of agricultural land never stops increasing. No thought is given to the depopulation of the country and overpopulation of the cities. The author's ignorance is astounding.

Let us take a final example of these pseudoscientific absurdities. As we have seen, adequate techniques can supposedly solve every problem. But for new technical inventions there is need of inventors, scientists, and technicians. One inventor for 10,000 people will mean ten for 100,000 and a hundred for 1,000,000. Thus we must increase the population so as to have more scientists, technicians, also artists, philosophers, etc. This is ridiculous. It rests on the thesis that every discovery or invention will inevitably be positive and good. There can be no hesitation with regard to techniques. Such inventions as dynamite, nonrecoiling guns, rockets, Molotov cocktails, etc., are just as valid as any others. Simon does not even consider any other possibility. I might cite other enormities of the same kind. I have spent time on the work only because it has had such success and seems to me to be a good illustration of the 'technolatry' that is supposed to be scientific and to be based upon facts. ... ■

In Comparison with China

China has to feed four times the population of the United States on 60 percent of the cultivated acreage. Let me repeat that because it is a staggering figure. China feeds 4 times our population on 60 percent of our cultivated acreage. Put another way, we in the United States do not till all of our arable land. If the United States turned all of her arable land into cultivated acreage for agricultural production, and that includes taking all front lawns and planting wheat and rice — whatever you can plant in front lawns and make them productive for food — and we had the same population density on that total tilled land (China farms all the land it can possibly farm today), the population of the United States would be somewhere between 2 and 3 billion people, i.e., ten times our current population. That is absolutely staggering. ...Can you imagine the problems we would have with our garbage disposal alone?

— From "China After Tiananmen" by Michel C. Oksenberg
The Cooper Foundation/ University of Nebraska-Lincoln
Forum on World Issues

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Surprisingly little has been made of the recent population increases projected by the Census Bureau. The upward revision from a mere four years ago should warn us all that cultural, infrastructure and environmental problems will be far worse and something needs to be done immediately about population growth. Leon F. Bouvier is a demographer associated with Tulane University and a Senior Fellow at the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) in Washington, DC. John L. Martin, a retired foreign service officer, is Assistant Director for Research at CIS. This "Backgrounder" was published by CIS in January 1993 and is reprinted with their permission.

Four Hundred Million Americans!

The Latest Census Bureau Projections

By Leon F. Bouvier and John L. Martin

The population projections from the Census Bureau released in December, 1992[1] came as quite a surprise to many Americans. The Bureau projects that by the year 2050, less than sixty years from today, the population of the United States will have grown by over an additional 130 million persons to 383 millions. Depending on what happens with regard to immigration, the population may climb even more steeply.

This projection is based on the Census Bureau's middle or most likely scenario. The middle scenario indicates a net expansion of U.S. population size by over fifty percent above the level enumerated in the 1990 census. The high scenario projects a population in excess of 400 million before the year 2030 and arriving at over 506 million by the middle of the century.

The new governmental report is especially noteworthy when compared to its last previous projection released less than four years ago. According to the Census Bureau's 1989 medium scenario, the U.S. population would peak in 2040 at 302 million and then begin to fall to 292 million, by 2080.[2] So the most likely scenario for U.S. population at mid-century was just increased by over thirty percent above what was projected just before the 1990 census.

Furthermore, in sharp contrast to the 1989 projection the new middle scenario reflects no end to growth. By 2045-2050, the average rate of growth would be about one-half of one percent per year (see Figure 1). The new Census Bureau projections end in 2050. Were they continued to 2080, as were the previous projections of the Bureau, the half-billion mark would be attained and surpassed not by just the high scenario, but also in the most likely scenario.

Despite this shocking projection, the national media devoted only passing notice to this report. There was virtually no analysis or commentary that identified the enormity of what these scenarios might represent for our society. A generalized lack of understanding of the implications of this continued high level of population growth appears to be the most likely explanation of why there was no alarm voiced about the potential impact of such growth on every segment of society.

In fact, there are several major stories that could be written about the new data. From what source does the Bureau anticipate an additional 90 million persons unforeseen in the 1989 projection (see Figure 2)? A higher birth rate is the answer most would expect, but that is correct only in part. The rest of the explanation is found in the fact that the U.S. Congress opened the gates wider to legal immigration in 1990, and efforts to control more effectively illegal immigration have not had the desired effect.

A second question, given such a major readjustment to the projection over such a short period of time, is whether the Census Bureau's new projection is likely to hold up better than the earlier one.

Third, the news coverage of the Census Bureau projection is almost exclusively on the middle or most likely scenario. The new low scenario, and thus a less likely projection, reflects a levelling off of population size at about 285 million and then a decline. But the new high scenario, also less likely, exceeds half a billion persons before the middle of the next century. Could anyone concerned about such a possibility not look for a discussion of the

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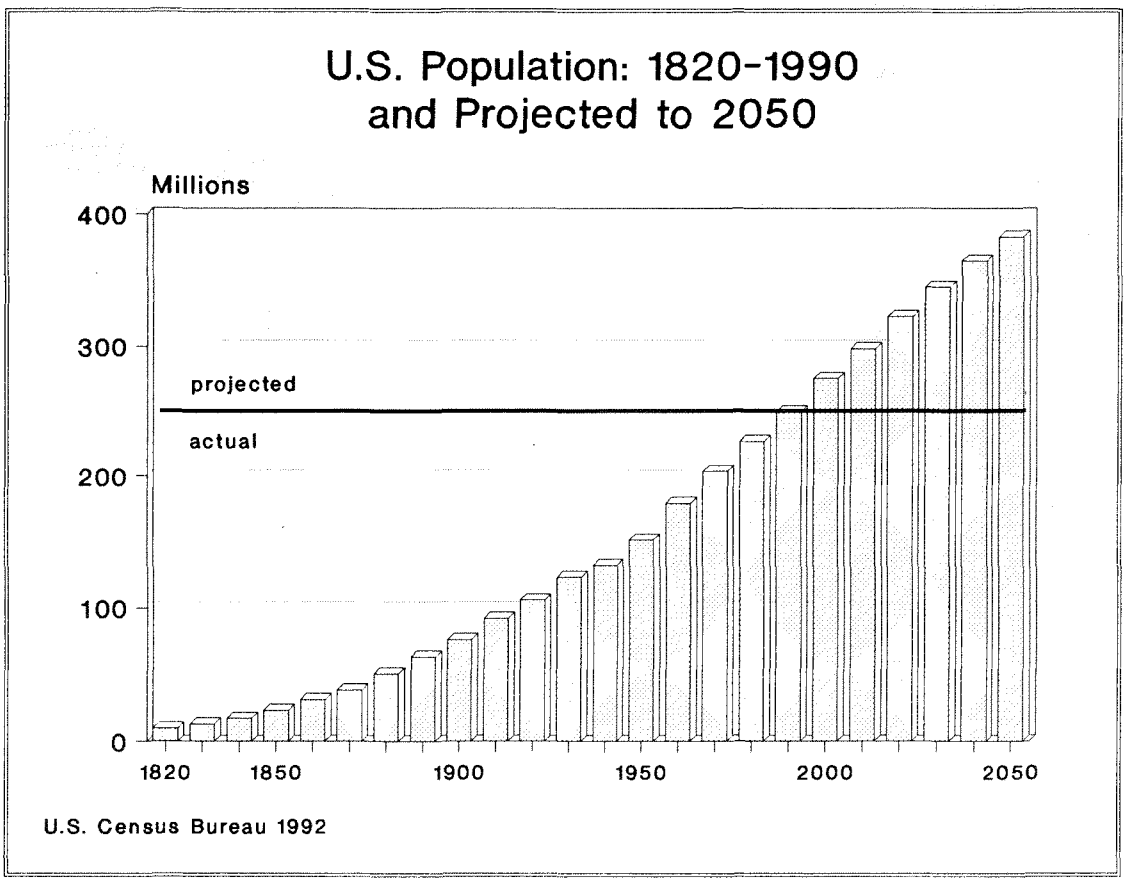

conditions that would result in such a momentous projection?

Finally, for the first time the Census Bureau elaborated its population projection by ethnic groups as well as by age groups. This reveals vital information about how our society is likely to change and the challenges that will result. This too should have sparked curiosity, if not controversy.

Earlier Census Projections

By 2050, the difference between the last two Census Bureau reports is about 90 million (see Figure 2). This amount of change in less than four years represents an amount of people equivalent to four people for every three previously projected. By 2080, the differences between the two projections could be as great as 200 million, or about eighty percent of today's total population.

Variations in demographic behavior, especially fertility and migration, are both unpredictable and volatile.[3] These two factors especially must be monitored constantly to detect any changes which would then suggest a need for new projections. The point, therefore, is not that the 1989 projections were in error, although their author recently admitted to the *New York Times* that "the assumption of a decline in fertility was dead wrong."[4] The assumptions simply reflected what appeared *at that time* to the Census Bureau experts to be the demographic trends.

Will the most recent projections from the Bureau prove to be correct? Perhaps not. They simply reflect what appear *at present* to be the demographic trends, at least in the opinion of the Census Bureau experts. Should we then conclude that such projections are worthless? Definitely not, but we should be reminded that it is important to pay careful attention to the underlying assumptions upon which the projections are based.

Since at least the 1940s, the Census Bureau has formulated projections of the nations's population

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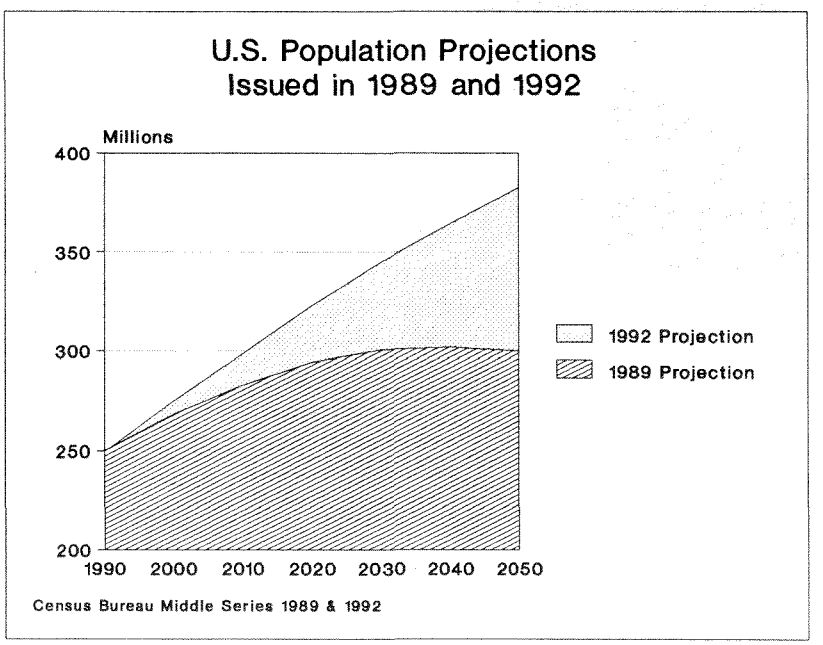
every four or five years. These have always been intended to reflect the demographic trends at a certain time. They are not predictions; they are simply projections of what would be the population in future years according to the perceived current trends in demographic behavior, that is, fertility, mortality, and migration. As that behavior changes, the Bureau prepares new projections that take these changes into account.

The value of such projections is that they answer the question: "What will be the population size and composition of the United States in some future year if the present demographic trends remain unchanged?" When the 1989 projections were prepared, the Bureau assumed that all three — fertility, mortality, and net immigration — would fall slightly. That is why the resulting projections reflected an end to population growth before 2050.



Since then both fertility and immigration have gone up rather than down thus requiring new projections that take into account such alterations in demographic variables. Presumably, more changes will occur in the future necessitating more adjustments and new projections.

The Census Bureau made clear in its most recent study that the change in the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1990 was a major factor in its upward revised projection. It is equally clear that the Census Bureau or other source of demographic expertise could have furnished the Congress projections of what would be the likely consequences of a change in the volume of immigration. Did Congress request a projection of the impact of higher immigration on U.S. population?

In fact, the immigration increase that resulted from the 1990 legislation resembles the projected level of immigration of the Census Bureau's high scenario in the 1989 projection. That scenario was predicated on a net level of 800 thousand immigrants, compared with the projected middle level scenario of 500 thousand net immigrants. The difference between these two 1989 scenarios was shown to cause an increase of over 27 million U.S. inhabitants by the year 2050.

The most recent Census Bureau projections are based on a net annual increase from immigration of 880 thousand. This figure is comprised of legal immigration and humanitarian programs (800 thousand), undocumented, i.e., "illegal," immigration (200 thousand), movement to the United States of U.S. nationals from Puerto Rico and abroad (40 thousand), less U.S. nationals moving abroad (160 thousand).

It is clear that the Census Bureau has the capability to provide projections that would reflect the impact on the U.S. population depending on the outcome of proposed changes in the immigration law. But, it was not asked to do so for the 1990 Act.

Current Demographic Trends

Given the facts that the Census Bureau has just made such a major revision in its projection and that these Census Bureau reports receive widespread media coverage — be it ever so fleeting and focussed only on the middle scenario, it is pertinent to ask if the Bureau correctly interprets current demographic trends.

With the advantage of hindsight, one can see that the Bureau was incorrect in determining the current demographic trends when preparing the 1989 report. That report assumed that fertility would fall slightly to 1.8 live births per woman (the Total Fertility Rate), while in reality fertility began to increase at just about that time. Furthermore, in the 1989 report, the fertility of immigrants, which differ

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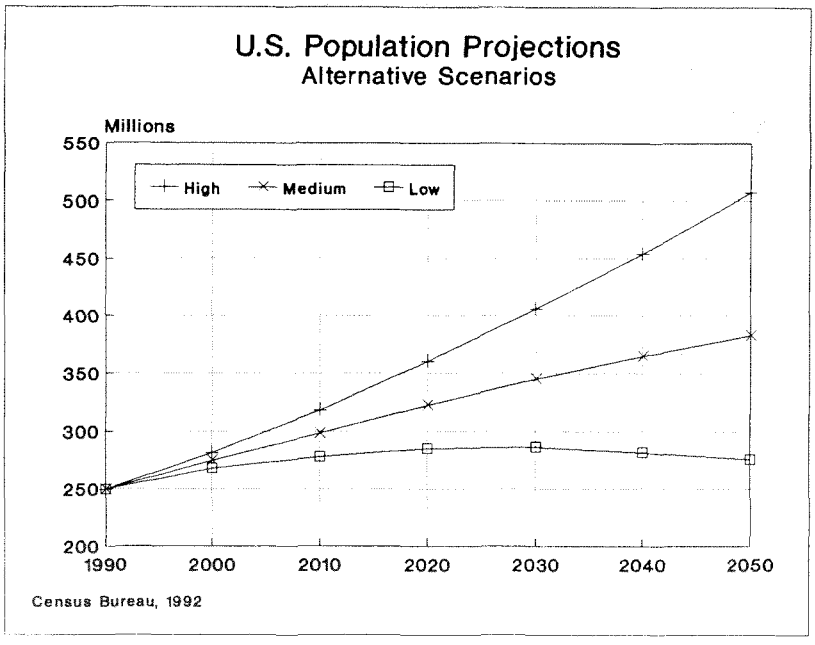

by ethnic groups upon their arrival in the United States and for many years thereafter, did not enter the Bureau's projections. "In the absence of vital statistics information for the foreign-born population...[immigrants were] assumed to immediately begin bearing children at the same rate as the equivalent age-race group in the U.S. population that year." However, the report's authors acknow-ledged that "this fertility level may be too low." That omission contributed to the overly low fertility assumption, because many recent immigrants maintain the higher fertility of the societies they left behind.

Equally important was the Bureau's conjecture that net immigration would be limited to 500 thousand annually. It assumed that the level of illegal immigration would be significantly reduced with the passage of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA), which had reduction of illegal movements into the country as one of its purposes. The middle projection was that illegal immigration would be cut in half, from the 200 thousand level to 100 thousand, by 1998. However by 1988, when the projection was calculated, it was clear to many observers that IRCA's effect in limiting clandestine movements was negligible. Furthermore, legal immigration was also beginning to climb.

Criticism that these 1989 projections were too conservative was widespread in the wake of their issuance. Demographers Dennis Ahlburg and J.W. Vaupel were particularly critical of the middle scenario assumptions. Indeed, they forecast a possible population of 811 million by the year 2080.[5] In *Peaceful Invasions: Immigration and Changing America*, Bouvier ignored the Bureau's middle scenario and projected a population of 388 million by 2050.[6] Urban Institute demographers, Barry Edmonston and Jeffrey Passel (a former Census Bureau official), writing in 1991, projected that the population would reach 369 million by 2050 and still be growing.[7] In all these examples, the researchers assumed that immigration would be much higher than indicated in the middle scenario of the 1989 Census report.

Therefore, it is appropriate to ask whether the "current demographic trends" applied in the newest Bureau publication are more realistic than those of its predecessor. It is too early to reach any conclusions based on observation of trends, but it is immediately clear that this latest report represents a major improvement over earlier similar studies by the Census Bureau.

For one thing, the fertility of different ethnic groups is treated independently:

> *"...age-specific fertility rates are held constant at slightly below 1990 levels for the non-Hispanic White; non-Hispanic Black; and the non-Hispanic American Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut. However, a 10 percent decrease in fertility rates after 2000 is assumed for the Hispanic origin and non-Hispanic Asian and Pacific Islander populations because the share of their fertility contributed by the foreign born is expected to decrease. Unlike previous projections, convergence of the birth rates by race and origin is not assumed." (p. xi)*

This approach results in an overall fertility rate of 2.052 in 1992 increasing slightly to 2.119 by 2050. The size of the assumed decline in the Hispanic rate might be questionable, but overall the report's view of fertility trends seems appropriate.

However, we do not know what the future will bring. No one predicted the length of the baby boom; is another such period of high fertility possible? That seems highly unlikely. Will a cure for AIDS be

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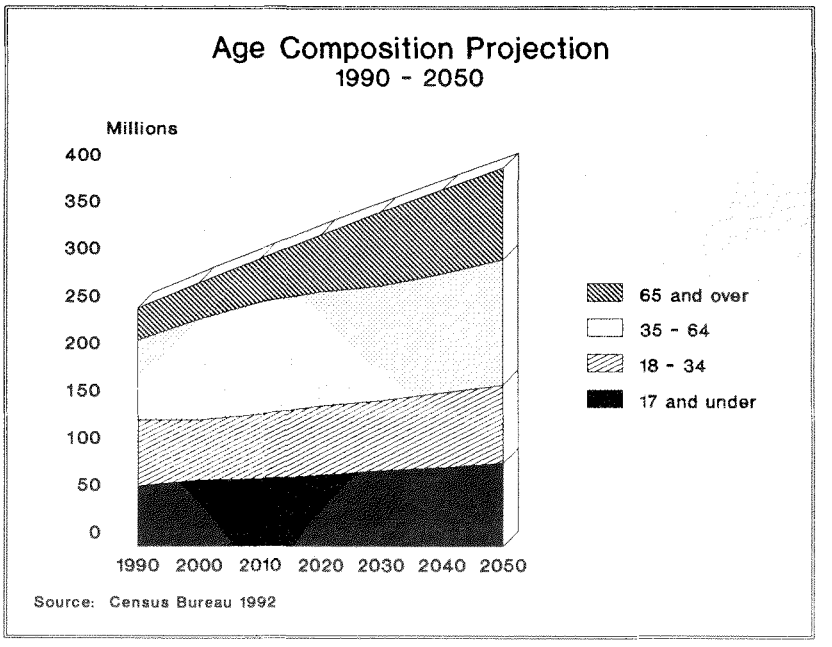
found? The increased participation of women in the workforce with resultant declining fertility is probably unidirectional. President Clinton is far more likely to encourage family planning and abortion counselling at all levels than his predecessors, who discouraged such activities. New contraceptive techniques are becoming available. Could fertility fall again in future years? That is certainly possible, but as yet there is no evidence of such a shift. Thus, the Census Bureau properly relies on current patterns of fertility and extends them to 2050.



The middle scenario of the new report from the Census Bureau assumes that net immigration will remain constant at 880 thousand through 2050. This is far and away the highest assumption ever made about immigration by the Census Bureau. But is it high enough?

We can never be certain of the actual level of total net immigration, but since 1988 the trend has been in an upward direction. The 1990 legislation will result in perhaps 200 thousand additional legal immigrants every year. And as those individuals who opted for amnesty after passage of IRCA attain legal residence and citizenship, additional new immigrants can be expected through the family reunification provisions of the law.

Continuing rapid population growth that outstrips the formation of new employment opportunities in Mexico and Central America can only encourage more people to try to enter the United States illegally. Is the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) likely to accentuate or abate these pressures for increasing illegal migration from Mexico?

If the middle scenario were based on current *numbers*, 880 thousand per year might be a reasonable long-term projection. However, it should be based on current *trends*, which reflect increasing immigration. In both the Bouvier and the Edmonston-Passel studies noted earlier, net immigration was assumed to be 950 thousand annually.

The high scenario of the Census Bureau assumes net immigration to be 1.37 million per year. The assumption underlying that scenario is the fact that the ceiling, or "cap", in the 1990 immigration legislation may be exceeded, and the possibility that refugee flows to the U.S. might increase.

The shadow of a possible new influx of Haitian and Cuban refugees may also have been in the authors' minds. It seems clear that the new high scenario has left a fairly large margin to accommodate changing conditions. In that regard, the high scenario is probably a bit too high, even for those who think the middle scenario is still too low. Perhaps the real current trend lies somewhere between these two Census Bureau scenarios (see Figure 3).

The low, middle, and high scenarios of the new Census Bureau projections result in a population in the year 2050 of 276 million, 383 million, or 507 million. What should be remembered is that, even with the low scenario, U.S. population is still growing by about ten percent above the current quarter of a billion inhabitants. And, if it is accepted that the middle level scenario may be somewhat on the low side, because of its projected net immigration, then it is likely that the U.S. population will reach 400 million by the middle of the next century.

Age and Ethnic Composition

The average age of the United States population will increase in future years. This has been stated before, and the new Bureau study merely confirms this "prediction."

According to the report's middle scenario, the proportion of elderly (i.e., age 65 and over) will rise

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substantially after 2010 when the baby boom cohort enters that age category. From the current share of 12.5 percent in 1990, it will increase to over 20 percent by 2040 and remain at that level to 2050 (see Figure 4).

On the other hand, the school-age share (age 5 through 17) will continue to increase numerically, but will decline as a relative share of the population from 18.1 to 16.8 percent. The percentage of the population between ages 18 and 64, i.e., the group currently considered the backbone of the workforce, is projected to hold steady at about 62 percent through 2010, and then begin to decline, reaching 56 percent in 2050.

"The ethnic composition of the nation will change dramatically, and by 2050 the long-time majority population will be on the verge of becoming simply the largest minority."

The nation's median age will climb from 32.8 in 1990 to 39.3 in 2050. The elderly population is expected to number almost 80 million by 2050, two-and-one-half times today's 32 million. In sharp contrast, the school-age population could grow only from about 45 million to 64 million. By 2030, for the first time in United States history the elderly will outnumber their school-age grandchildren. Similar drastic shifts in age composition have been noted in other studies.

For the first time in a Census Bureau population projection, data are also provided on the trend of shifting racial/ethnic composition of the U.S. population among non-Hispanic whites, blacks, Asians, native-Americans, and Hispanics (see Figure 5). Demographic shifts over this period result, in large part, from the continued high level of immigration and the greater than average fertility of immigrants. From 75.7 percent in 1990, the share of the population that is non-Hispanic-white will fall to 52.7 percent by 2050. The black share will rise from 11.8 to 15 percent; that for Asians from 3 to 10 percent; for Hispanics from 9.0 to 21.1; while indigenous groups hold still at about one percent.

This proportional distribution is remarkably similar to that projected for 2050 in *Peaceful Invasions*: i.e., 53.6 (whites); 13.7 (blacks); 11.2 (Asians and Others); 21.5 (Hispanics).[8] Edmonston and Passel's ethnic distribution in 2050 differs somewhat from those of the Census Bureau and *Peaceful Invasions*: 56.6 non-Hispanic-white; 12.2 African-American; 11.6 Asians and others; 19.6 Hispanics.[9] All these studies agree that ethnic diversity will grow rapidly in the twenty-first century.

A Summary of the Report's Findings

In sum, this newest report on population projections from the Census Bureau does two things: first, it updates and alters many of the assumptions of the 1989 report that have proved to be obviously incorrect; second, it confirms alternative projections that had already been published in numerous non-governmental publications. Namely, the U.S. population will continue to grow rapidly, more rapidly than other industrialized nations, and it will reach at least 383 million by the middle of the next century.

The ethnic composition of the nation will change dramatically, and by 2050 the long-time majority population will be on the verge of becoming simply the largest minority. The nation will continue to age. This will be particularly marked when the baby boomers become the senior boomers sometimes after 2020. By 2050, the elderly will be nearing 80 million and comprise over one-fifth of the total population.

Although these findings are not new, coming from the Census Bureau they received widespread attention, and deservedly so. In a sense, these newest official projections were like an "imprimatur" placed on the other studies cited above. Yet, they failed to generate much commentary or analysis in the media. For example, neither the *New York Times* nor the *Washington Post* cited any concern with this new "population explosion." The former newspaper included comments from a Census Bureau official to clarify the reasons for the large upward adjustment in the projection. The latter newspaper came closest to touching on the significance of the news in an interview with The Urban Institute's demographer Jeffrey Passel. He was cited as noting that "we will have a much smaller proportion who are of European descent and what we will be calling majority or minority at that point is anybody's guess."[10]

Not a single expert was asked about the possibly

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ITEM — World population is growing at a rate of 10,000 an hour, 250,000 a day, 90 million per year.

ITEM — More than 90 percent of this growth takes place in less developed countries which are already beset with massive problems of poverty, political instability, and environmental decline.

ITEM — The combination of these factors is generating intense pressures for migration all over the globe, but especially to the United States.

ITEM — The United States Census Bureau in 1989 projected that the U.S. population of 250 million in 1990 would increase to 303 million by 2050. In 1992, just three years later, they revised their 2050 projection upward to 383 million — an extra 80 million people — nearly three times the present-day population of California! The reason for the change: the projected mass immigration of high-fertility people.

ITEM — Fifty percent of U.S. population growth from 1970 to 1990 was due to immigration, and these numbers are taxing (literally) our social, economic, political, and cultural institutions.

WHAT DOES ALL THIS MEAN?

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"THE SOCIAL CONTRACT *fulfills a public need in focusing attention on the vital area of immigration and its enveloping impacts on our society in the 1990s. The consistently high quality of feature articles in its quarterly issues furnish competent analysis, hard facts, an enlightened perspective, and intelligent commentary on immigration — not to be found in any other journal. In short,* THE SOCIAL CONTRACT *uniquely illuminates the complex problems arising out of today's vast human migrations."*

— Sidney B. Rawitz,
General Counsel 1974-79,
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Our nation, and every developed nation, needs to ask itself three fundamental questions when it comes to devising an immigration policy:

1. **How many** people shall we admit, and **what factors** should be taken into account in setting this limit?

2. **Who** should be chosen to immigrate, and **what criteria** should be used for choosing?

3. **How** shall we humanely enforce the rules we decide upon?

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT seeks to explore and illuminate these questions — by publishing new material and by pulling together pertinent literature from scattered sources. This provides, for the first time, a periodical devoted to the inter-related topics of:

- **Human population growth**, including its absolute size, rate of growth, and distribution. In nations with low natural increase and high immigration, the latter is a significant component of population growth. (Reasonably, policy on immigrant numbers should derive from an overall policy on population size.)
- **Immigration policy**, especially as it relates to the three basic policy questions menioned above: how many, and who, and how?
- **Language, assimilation, and national unity** considerations, which in large measure derive from and are driven by immigration and assimilation policies.
- **The balance of individual rights and civic responsibilities**, since, as with many issues today, population, immigration and language questions are often framed in terms of 'rights.' What is the proper balance of individual and community rights and interests?

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— Alan Jamieson,
Sacramento, CA.

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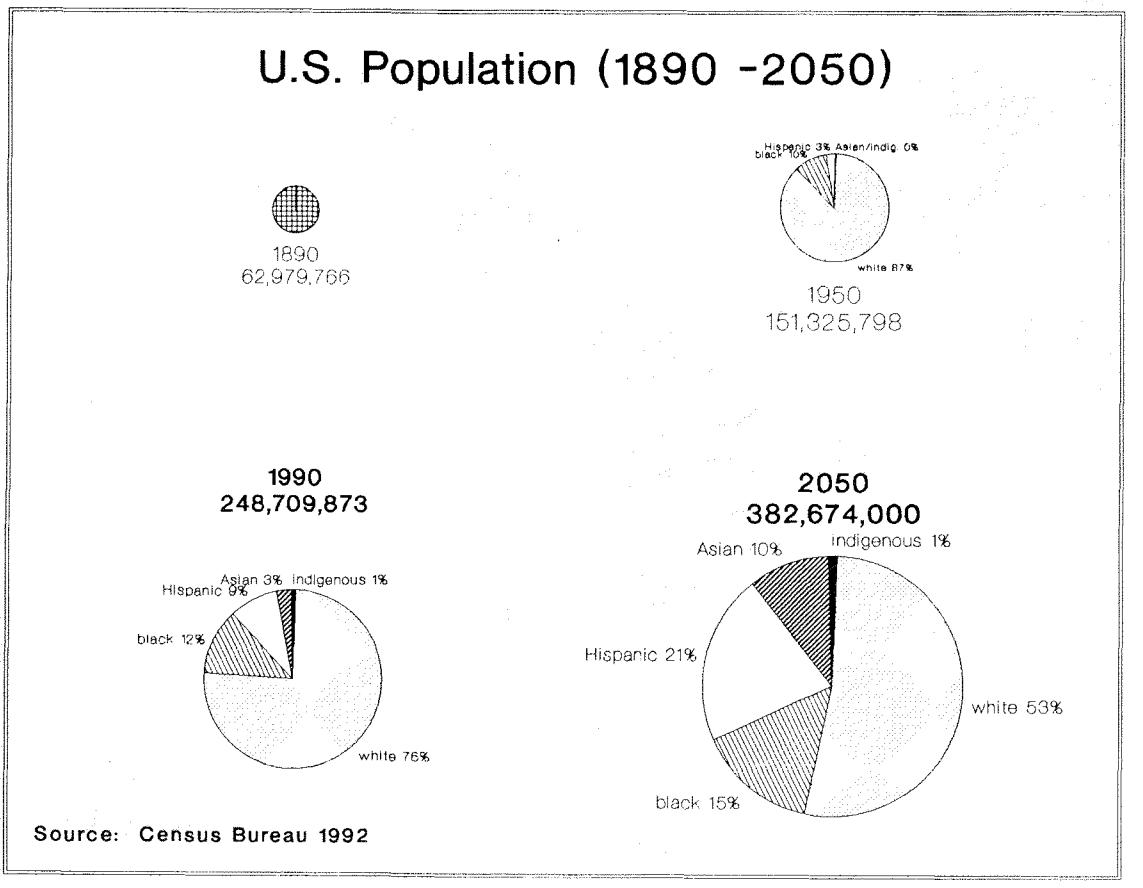

detrimental consequences of continued rapid growth on the nation's economy, its educational structure, or its environment. Rather, the news reports merely summarized the Bureau's findings with little apparent understanding or interest in the impact of such growth.

Reasons for Concern

As the nation moves relentlessly towards 300, 400, and even 500 million people, now is the time to ask: how many more Americans can be supported? The question is not one of space; the question is about carrying capacity, or the number of individuals who can be supported without degrading the natural, cultural and social environment, i.e., without reducing the ability of the environment to sustain the desired quality of life over the long term.[11]

Without going into the complex issues associated with optimal population, it is becoming increasingly obvious that the United States is fast approaching the limits beyond which any further growth would be intolerable. Indeed, many scholars are of the opinion that the nation's population is already too large. For example, Paul Werbos of the National Science Foundation has concluded: "In the long term, the energy sector and the environment would probably be healthiest if the U.S. population were somewhere around 50 to 100 percent of the present level, in my view. If one were optimistic about biomass and international cooperation but pessimistic about high-tech renewables, then the optimum would be more like sixty million people."[12]

Three important sectors seriously affected by population growth are what might be called "the three E's" — that is, economy, education, environment. Interestingly, these are the cornerstones of the Clinton-Gore program to revive American society.

Between 1992 and 2000, the eight years that a Clinton-Gore team could serve, over 20 million people are likely to be added, according the Census

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Bureau report. Of that total, two-fifths, i.e., over 8 million, will result from immigration. How will the nation put people back to work and reduce the drain on already overburdened resources if it continues to add between 2 1/2 and 3 million people every year?

The economy is far and away the nation's most pressing problem. But in 1991, while about 800 thousand new jobs were created, the labor force grew by over 1.1 million. Given current and potential future levels of immigration, mostly by young adults looking for work, it is reasonable to ask: how can we create enough jobs to absorb so many newcomers to the labor force, both native-born and immigrants?

"How will the nation improve the overall educational level of its work force when millions of poorly schooled immigrants continue to swell that work force?"

President Clinton has made it clear that education is the key to an improved economy in a high-tech era. Incoming Secretary of Labor, Robert Reich, has written extensively on the need for a better educated labor force:

> *A work force possessing a good basic education, which can efficiently bring the fruits of its labors to the global economy, can attract global capital for its performance of moderately complex tasks... But without adequate skills..., the relationship can be the opposite — a vicious circle in which global money and technology are lured only by low wages and low taxes... Theoretically, it can continue to push wages downward until the citizens of the nation have a standard of living like that typical of the Third World."*[13]

How will the nation improve the overall educational level of its work force when millions of poorly schooled immigrants continue to swell that work force? How can the country's health system, especially the public health facilities that care for the poorest in the society, cope with such an influx?

Vice-President Gore's 1991 tour de force, *Earth in the Balance*, addresses many of the environmental problems that all humans face.[14] While he concentrates on the planet, the environmental problems facing the nation are also critical. For one example, let's look at water supply and quality. Currently Americans are drawing down water at a rate 25 percent in excess of recharge rates.

> *This draw down is particularly severe in our irrigated 'grain belt' lands above the Oglalla aquifer and also in semi-arid California, which is gaining nearly one million new residents a year. Virtually every urban area suffers from some form of water pollution and, primarily to population-generated urban sprawl, we are losing 1.5 million areas of precious farmland every year.*[15]

With all these problems that are at least partially attributable to population growth, it is perplexing that the media have failed to make the connection. Could they have been lulled into inertia by the pro-natal policy of the Reagan and Bush administrations, when it was argued that population growth is not a problem?

Whatever the reason, it is clear that little concern over rapid population growth has been exhibited thus far in national debate, either in the presidential electoral campaign or in the "national" media coverage of the momentous new Census Bureau projection. Yet, Americans should concentrate on doing whatever is necessary to limit and eventually end population growth.

Hope for the Future?

At a minimum, the goal should be to ensure that the lower Census Bureau projection be proven correct rather than the middle projection. According to the low scenario, the population would peak at 287 million in 2030 and fall to 276 million by 2050.[16] While still intolerably high, the underlying assumptions for reaching such a goal would not be impossible to achieve. That would require fertility to fall to 1.8 live births per woman and for net immigration to be reduced to 350 thousand annually.

How could such goals be attained? Strong efforts to reduce the level of adolescent pregnancy are called for. If all births were planned and wanted, the fertility rate would fall, perhaps to at least the 1.8 level. There is hope that the new administration will eliminate restrictions on family planning counselling; an injectable drug that offers three-months of protection with 99 percent effectiveness (Depo-

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Provera) has just been cleared for sale in the U.S.; it is also possible that the French abortifacient pill RU 486 may be accepted for sales in the United States.

However, even if fertility is lowered, population growth cannot come to an end in the foreseeable future without massive reductions in immigration. Immigration is at an all-time high and there is little indication that it will fall any time soon, barring some drastic shifts in the thinking of the federal government.

The Census Bureau's recent population projections serve as a warning to all Americans. Unless the nation addresses the challenge of population growth now, the economic, educational, and environmental problems will be far more difficult to solve, if they are to be solved at all. ■

NOTES

[1] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, P-25-1092, "Population Projections of the United States, by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 1992 to 2050", by Jennifer Day, GPO, WDC, 1992.

[2] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25, No. 1018, "Projections of the Population of the United States, by Age, Sex, and Race: 1988 to 2080", by Gregory Spencer, GPO, WDC, 1989. The prior projection was published in May, 1984.

[3] Mortality is the third demographic variable affecting population change. All models assume an increase in life expectancy.

[4] As cited in *New York Times*, "U.S. in 2050: Bigger and Less White," December 4, 1992, D18.

[5] Dennis A. Ahlburg and J. W. Vaupel, "Alternative Projections of the U.S. Population," *Demography* 27, no. 4 (1990); 648.

[6] Leon F. Bouvier, *Peaceful Invasions: Immigration and Changing America*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1992, chapter 3.

[7] Barry Edmonston and Jeffrey S. Passel, *The Future Immigrant Population of the United States*. Washington: Urban Institute, 1992.

[8] Bouvier, 38.

[9] Edmonston and Passel, p. 39.

[10] As cited in *Washington Post*, "Births, Immigration Revise Census View of 21st Century U.S.," December 4, 1992, A10.

[11] This definition was developed by Carrying Capacity Network and is cited in "Balance Report", Population-Environment-Balance, Washington, DC: December, 1992.

[12] Paul J. Werbos, "Energy and Population: Transitional Issues and Eventual Limits," in Lindsey Grant (ed.) *Elephants in the Volkswagen: Facing the Tough Questions about our Overcrowded Country*, New York: W. H. Freeman, 1992, 49.

[13] Robert Reich, "The Real Enemy," *The Atlantic*, February, 1991, 43.

[14] Al Gore, *Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit*. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1992.

[15] *Balance Report*, 1.

[16] It should be pointed out that this scenario assumes no improvement in life expectancy. Hopefully, this will not be the case.

If It Works, Use It

We [Hispanics] call things racism just to get attention. We reduce complicated problems to racism, not because it *is* racism, but because it works.

— Political consultant Alfredo Gutierrez
Quoted by Richard De Uriarte, Editorial writer
The Phoenix Gazette, March 14, 1993

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George F. Kennan — ambassador to Moscow, Pulitzer Prize-winning writer on U.S./Soviet relations, and highly respected elder-statesman — has recently published a memoir, Around the Cragged Hill: A Personal and Political Philosophy *(New York: 1993, W. W. Norton & Company). This excerpt from the book makes some intriguing statements about population size and immigration — commentary made forceful by ambassador Kennan's stature in the political establishment.* *© 1993 by George F. Kennan. Reprinted with the permission of the publisher, W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.*

U.S. Overpopulation Deprives Planet of Helpful Civilization

By George F. Kennan

If I were to be asked by a foreigner what strikes me most about my own people, two points, I think, would come most readily to mind: first, that we are a nation of bad social habits and, second, that there are far too many of us.

Let me stick, at this point, to the second of those assertions. If, as my first ambassadorial chief, Bill Bullitt, once said, mankind is "a skin disease of the earth," then there is an optimal balance, dependent on the manner of man's life, between the density of human population and the tolerances of nature. This balance, in the case of the United States, would seem to me to have been surpassed when the American population reached, at a very maximum, two hundred million people, and perhaps a good deal less.

There is, of course, no way of measuring exactly the burden that man imposes upon nature. It depends in part on the way man lives. But if one looks only at the rate of depletion of vitally important and nonrenewable natural resources — for example, soil and water — it is evident that American society is rapidly consuming its own natural capital. It is exhausting and depleting the very sources of its own abundance. Much of this could be alleviated by changes in the habits of American society, as it exists today. Water could be more economically used; the use of chemical fertilizers could be curtailed; the destruction of grasslands, forests, and wetlands could be stopped; and so forth. But surely, the present environmental crisis is essentially the reflection of a disbalance between human population — its sheer numbers as well as its way of life — and the resources of the territory on which it resides.[1] The American Indian, as he existed before the white man came, was no doubt sometimes environmentally destructive, too. Even more so, I suspect, were the first white frontiersmen. But there were so few of them that nature could tolerate their destruction. It is this relationship that has changed in the United States, as it has changed in the dreadfully overpopulated countries of Western Europe. And it is this that I have in mind when I say that there are too many of us....

I cannot leave this subject of the size and populousness of this country without devoting a few words to the delicate and difficult subject of immigration. Ours is, of course, a country of immigrants. In the pedigree of every non-Native American, other than the first-generation ones, there lies at least one immigrant, often a considerable number of them. We could justly be called an immigrant society.

We have prided ourselves, throughout much of our history, on the welcome we gave to the arriving immigrant, and even on the lack of discrimination we showed in the extension of this welcome. We have gone on the assumption that such were the spaciousness and fertility and the absorbent capacities of this country that there was no limit to either the number or the diversity of ethnic characteristics of the immigrants we could accept. We have gone on the further assumption that such was the universality of the values incorporated into our political system that there could be no immigrant, of whatever culture or race or national tradition, who could not be readily absorbed into our social and political life, could not become infused with understanding for,

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and confidence in, our political institutions, and could not, consequently, become a useful bearer of the American political tradition. Particularly has the possibility never become apparent to us that in some instances, where the disparity between what these people were leaving behind and what they were coming into was great, the new arrivals, even in the process of adjusting to our political tradition, might actually change it. One need only look at our great-city ghettos or the cities of Miami and Los Angeles to satisfy oneself that what we are confronted with here are real and extensive cultural changes.

I shall not argue about how justifiable these attitudes proved to be in the past. Perhaps there was more to be said for some of them in the early days of this republic than there would be today. But, in any case, that is water over the dam. We must look at these assumptions in terms of the situation now before us.

"Suppose there are limits to our capacity to absorb..."

If there are any grounds for my belief that the country is already overpopulated — overpopulated, above all, from the environmental standpoint — then that would in itself suggest that we should take a new look at the whole problem of immigration. But we also ought to ask ourselves, before we assure ourselves that we could comfortably accommodate further waves of immigration, where, if anywhere, the limits of this complacency are to be found. This is a big world. Billions — rapidly increasing billions — of people live outside our borders. Obviously, a great number of them, being much poorer than they think most of us are, look enviously over those borders and would like, if they could, to come here.

Just as water seeks its own level, so relative prosperity, anywhere in the world, tends to suck in poverty from adjacent regions to the lowest levels of employment. But since poverty is sometimes a habit, sometimes even an established way of life, the more prosperous society, by indulging this tendency, absorbs not only poverty into itself but other cultures in the bargain, and is sometimes quite overcome, in the long run, by what it has tried to absorb. The inhabitants of the one-time Italian cities along the eastern shore of the Adriatic Sea (the scenes of some of Shakespeare's plays) made it a habit, over several centuries, to take their menial servants and their ditchdiggers from the Slavs of the poorer villages in the adjacent mountains. Today, finally, the last of the Italians have left; and the beautiful cities in question are inhabited entirely by Slavs, who have little relationship to the sort of city and the cultural monuments they have inherited. They have simply displaced the original inhabitants.

Surely there is a lesson in this. The situation has been, or threatens to be, repeated in a number of the advanced countries. It is obviously easier, for the short run, to draw cheap labor from adjacent pools of poverty, such as North Africa or Central America, than to find it among one's own people. And to the millions of such prospective immigrants from poverty to prosperity, there is, rightly or wrongly, no place that looks more attractive than the United States. Given its head, and subject to no restrictions, this pressure will find its termination only when the levels of overpopulation and poverty in the United States are equal to those of the countries from which these people are now anxious to escape.

There will be those who will say, "Oh, it is our duty to receive as many as possible of these people and to share our prosperity with them, as we have so long been doing." But suppose there are limits to our capacity to absorb. Suppose the effect of such a policy is to create, in the end, conditions within this country no better than those of the places the masses of immigrants have left: the same poverty, the same distress. What we shall then have accomplished is not to have appreciably improved conditions in the Third World (for even the maximum numbers we could conceivably take would be only a drop from the bucket of the planet's overpopulation) but to make this country itself a part of the Third World (as certain parts of it already are), thus depriving the planet of one of the few great regions that might have continued, as it now does, to be helpful to much of the remainder of the world by its relatively high standard of civilization, by its quality as example, by its ability to shed insight on the problems of the others and to help them find their answers to their own problems.

Actually, the inability of any society to resist immigration, the inability to find other solutions to the problem of employment at the lower, more physical, and menial levels of the economic process,

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is a serious weakness, and possibly even a fatal one, in any national society. The fully healthy society would find ways to meet those needs out of its own resources. The acceptance of this sort of dependence on labor imported from outside is, for the respective society, the evidence of a lack of will — in a sense, a lack of confidence in itself. And this acceptance, like the weakness of the Romans in allowing themselves to become dependent on the barbarians to fill the ranks of their own armies, can become, if not checked betimes, the beginning of the end.

"...the U.S. government ... confesses itself unable to defend its own southwestern border from illegal immigration..."

However one cuts it, the question is not whether there are limits to this country's ability to absorb immigrants; the question is only where those limits lie, and how they should be determined and enforced — whether by rational decision at this end or by the ultimate achievement of some sort of balance of misery between this country and the vast pools of poverty elsewhere that now confront it.

Unfortunately it appears, as things stand today, to lie beyond the vigor, and the capacity for firm decision, of the American political establishment to draw any rational limits to further immigration. This is partly because the U.S. government, while not loath to putting half a million armed troops into the Middle East to expel the armed Iraqis from Kuwait, confesses itself unable to defend its own southwestern border from illegal immigration by large numbers of people armed with nothing more formidable than a strong desire to get across it. But behind this rather strange helplessness there lie, of course, domestic political pressures or inhibitions that work in the same direction: notably, the thirst for cheap labor among American employers and the tendency of recently immigrated people, now here in such numbers that they are not without political clout, to demand the ongoing admission of others like themselves.

Let me make it clear that I am not objecting, here, to the quality of the people whose continued arrival, as things now stand, is to be anticipated (although I would point out that the conditions in our major urban ghettos would suggest that there might be limits to our capacity for assimilation). We are already, for better or for worse, very much a polyglot country; and nothing of that is now to be changed. What I have in mind here are sheer numbers. There *is* such a thing as overcrowding. It has its psychic effects as well as its physical ones. There *are* limits to what the environment can stand: the tolerable levels of pollution, the strain on water supplies, and so on. There *are* limits to the desirable magnitude of urbanization; and it is, after all, to the great urban regions that the bulk of these immigrants proceed.

I might point out that these are problems that might more easily be coped with if the United States, as was fancifully suggested above, were to be divided into a relatively small number of constituent republics, and if each of these were to be given control over immigration, at least in the sense of controlling the rights of residence. In that case, it is not inconceivable that certain of the major southern regions where things have already gone too far would themselves become, in effect, linguistically and culturally, Latin-American countries, and would find in that way their own level with relation to the adjacent already Latin-American regions (which might for them, incidentally, not be the worst of solutions).

But since there obviously will be, in the foreseeable future, no such decentralization of the country, these speculations are idle. And the reason why I bring up the subject at all is to emphasize something that gives me considerable uneasiness: and that is the growing evidence that there are grave problems of the American future that are not going to be and probably cannot be, as things stand today, adequately anticipated or confronted at the *national* political level.

This conclusion, if well founded, is an extremely serious one. It says something about the enduring viability of American democracy, as we now know it.

■

[1] The *New York Times*, on April 11, 1991, cited the former governor and senator Daniel Evans, who chaired the National Academy of Sciences panel that prepared the report for President Bush on global warming, as saying that population growth was "the biggest single driver of atmospheric pollution."

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Robert Birrell, with his Ph. D. in sociology from Princeton, is a reader in sociology at Australia's Monash University and is one of the founders of the Australian immigration reform movement, having been literally among the first, if not the first, to take up that cause in his country. As far back as the mid-1970s when The Social Contract*'s editor was national president of Zero Population Growth, Dr. Birrell was spending a six-month sabbatical at ZPG working on the topic. Here is his twenty-year perspective on the development of the issue in Australia.*

Australia's Tightened Admissions

Why Labor Concerns Prompted Reform Down Under But Not in U.S., Canada

By Robert Birrell

By the end of the 1980s, the Australian migration program had built up a formidable head of steam. The settler program reached 140,000 in 1989-90, far above the 67,000 level set in 1983-84 when the current Labor Government first came to office. A major Government initiated Inquiry published in 1988 recommended an even higher figure of 150,000.[1] The politics of the issue seemed to favor high numbers. The very size of the foreign born population in Australia — twenty one percent by 1991 — and its tendency to concentrate, as in Sydney, where nearly thirty percent were foreign born, helped focus the political weight of the ethnic lobby. Partly because of this, by the late 1980s the immigration program enjoyed bi-partisan political support. Both major Australian political parties were more eager to accommodate the business and ethnic interests pushing for expansion than to respond to the broad based but diffuse electoral opposition becoming evident.

However, in the last two years much has changed. The Labor Government has backed away from its earlier commitments to sustain a high intake. It cut the migration program to 111,000 in 1991-92 then a year later slashed it to 80,000 for 1992/93. The largest contraction occurred in the Concessional family category (mainly brothers and sisters) which was cut from 19,000 in 1991/92 to 6,000 in 1992/93 and in the Independent, or skilled category which was cut from 42,500 to 28,500 over the same period.

Meanwhile the conservative opposition (the Liberal/National Party coalition) has been arguing for even sharper cuts. As well, the opposition has taken a critical stance on multiculturalism, despite the fact that the first Australian Government endorsement of this policy dates to the late 1970s when the conservatives themselves held office. That these viewpoints are being articulated at this time indicates a considered policy rethink. Here are two recent statements which illustrate the opposition's current position. On immigration policy, Dr. Hewson, the current Liberal leader, declared that "in Australia's current economic circumstances, an immediate and substantial reduction of migration coming to Australia is the only responsible course of action."[2] He also asserted that multiculturalism is about

> *the politics of division not the politics of one nation. Absolutely a fundamental mistake in this country. We are a multicultural society — yes. But we should never have multiculturalism. All we do is elevate a few professional ethnics, if I might use that emotive term, and differentiate those from the interests of all the migrants that have come to this country, that came here for a new life; and a chance in life. They're all left out in the cold.*[3]

Clearly, neither the Government nor the opposition are as fearful of the "ethnic vote" as in earlier years. As indicated, the Government has cut deeply into the family reunion component of the intake. The contraction in the Concessional family component in 1992 followed the introduction of tighter rules on the immigration of parents in 1989. These rules effectively limit parent migration to those families where half or more of the children, the

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Could It Happen Here?

New Policies in Australia:

- Parents allowed only if at least half of children already in Australia.
- Sponsors of parents post $5,000 bond to cover any welfare assistance needed in the first two years.
- Migrants not fluent in English pay $2,040, before migrating, to cover future language training costs.
- New arrivals without jobs rely on sponsors, family or friends for their first six months.
- Total annual admissions slashed by 43 percent from 1989 level.

"balance" of their family, are located in Australia. Parent arrivals, which reached 11,050 in 1988-89 have since fallen to 7,422 in 1991-92, with further falls expected. Both policy measures were taken in the face of strenuous ethnic community opposition. By contrast, in Canada, where grandparents as well as parents enjoy right of entry once sponsored by Canadian residents, some 40,000 are expected to receive visas in 1992, more than double the level of the late 1980s.

Furthermore, the Australian Government has acted to reduce the public welfare costs of providing for migrants. The main focus has been on parents. This reflects concerns about the costs of providing welfare benefits to parents whose original sponsors are either unable or unwilling to provide for them. Though in the past those sponsoring parents have been required to sign an "assurance of support" guaranteeing repayment of any state welfare expenditures paid to their parents in the first five years of their residence in Australia, in practice the Government has found it difficult to enforce this "assurance." Beginning in 1992, all sponsors of parents (and some other minor classes of relatives) now have to pay, in advance, a refundable bond of $3,500 for the principal applicant and $1,500 for an accompanying spouse. If the parent or parents do not require welfare assistance over the first two years of residence, or the amount disbursed is less than the bond then, the residue will be repaid to the sponsor. If the amount paid exceeds the bond the sponsor will be liable for the excess. In addition, those who sponsor parents must pay to the Government a non refundable fee of $822 for each parent and any accompanying dependents to cover health care costs for the first two years of residence.

A second new "user pays" provision concerns the financing of English language tuition. The Australian Government has been providing free language services to non-English-speaking (NES) migrants. The funds allocated for this purpose have increased significantly with the growth in numbers of NES background migrants and the Government's recognition that migrants without English language skills are poorly placed to find employment. In order to recoup some of these costs (and perhaps deter further NES migrant flows) a new regimen of charges has been introduced. Beginning in January 1993, Independent migrants (and their accompanying adult dependents) with low English language levels will, before migrating, have to pay a fee covering at least half the cost of providing 510 hours of English language tuition, or $2,040. Humanitarian and Preferential family entrants (spouse, parents and dependent children) will be exempt, but Concessional family migrants (including principal applicants and accompanying adults) will have to pay a $1,020 fee for their 510 hours tuition. The judgment as to whether the intending migrant needs English language training will be determined via a new language testing procedure currently being introduced at overseas posts.

Finally, beginning in 1993, new arrivals (other than those in the humanitarian category) will no longer be eligible for unemployment or sickness benefits until six months residence has elapsed (though some help will be available for those suffering genuine hardship.) These benefits had previously been available to all migrants on arrival. In the words of the Government statement announcing the measure, "new residents unable to find employment will have to rely on the support of sponsors, family or friends."[4] This decision followed earlier statements from the opposition that, if elected in 1993, they would embargo such benefits until two

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years after arrival.

These measures send disturbing messages to ethnic community leaders. They constitute a tacit admission that migration is a cost to the community. Furthermore they imply a considered strategy of dissuading further family migration. As might be expected they have aroused bitter resentment. There is no doubt that ethnic leaders will agitate for the overturn of the new "user pays" policies and with the support of business interests will also press for a return to higher migration levels when the Australian economy revives. They can expect the support of significant elements within the Australian intelligentsia.[5] Nor have Australia's trade unions reversed their general support for immigration and multiculturalism. Despite the highest level of unemployment since the 1930s depression, the peak union body, the Australian Council of Trade Unions, recommended a cut to just 100,000 for the 1992/93 program, well above the 80,000 figure the Government ultimately decided on.

What, then, is the explanation for the recent policy developments? This question must be especially puzzling for North American readers. They will be well aware that at a time of recession just as deep as that in Australia, the Canadian Government has increased its migration program from 200,000 in 1990 to a planned 250,000 per year over the period 1992-95. Likewise the U.S. Congress passed legislation in 1990 mandating a significant increase in legal immigration beginning in fiscal year 1992.

Explaining Australia's Policy Reversals

The recession beginning in 1990 was undoubtedly the trigger for the Australian developments. The Government found itself under pressure on two counts.

The first was the alleged cost of providing social welfare, English-language training, and other state benefits — especially for recently arrived migrants from NES (Non-English Speaking) background countries. Wide publicity was given to official estimates that nearly half of the recent arrivals from such countries were dependent on unemployment benefits by mid-1991. Ironically, ethnic group claims that the Government has neglected the plight of NES migrants, and evidence of serious backlogs in the provision of English language tuition, have contributed to Government concern about the issue. The consensus among officials now is that NES migrants are likely to remain seriously disadvantaged given the importance of communication skills in the current restructuring of the Australian economy.

The second source of pressure came from complaints that migrants were flooding already overcrowded job markets to the detriment of Australians, especially recent graduates. For the most part these complaints came from professional associations rather than trade unions. The Institution of Engineers has been particularly concerned. In 1990-91, engineers constituted the largest single category of professional migrants. Some 4,000 arrived — considerably more than the approximately 3,500 engineers graduating from Australian engineering colleges over the same period.

"When skilled arrivals began to concentrate in the engineering, health, accountant and teaching professions, influential associations pressed for change."

The employment and welfare problems associated with NES background migrants are not unique to Australia. They are becoming acute in Canada, especially in Ontario, but they have not yet prompted the critical reaction witnessed in Australia. I will return to the reasons for this shortly. However, the situation regarding professional migrants is distinctive to Australia. In the U.S. and Canada, migrants selected for their occupational attributes are evaluated in terms of the state of the labor market in their particular occupations. In contrast, since the late 1980s, the Australian Government has selected skilled migrants via a system which took no account of demand within the labor market the migrant hoped to enter. When the recession hit in 1990 the Government was still proudly proclaiming its "success" in increasing the skilled intake. The very "success" of this program helped draw attention to migration as a contributor to problems of excess supply in certain skilled categories. This perception was magnified by the tendency for arrivals to concentrate in particular professions — notably engineers, doctors, nurses, accountants and teachers

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— all of which were in surplus by 1991. In most cases, the outcome was vocal opposition from influential professional associations.

Put in more general terms, the Government was faced with compelling criticism that its philosophy of utilizing immigration for "general skilled augmentation" (to use the Government's jargon) was fundamentally flawed. Policy makers had assumed that there was no need to target particular skills since this was something the marketplace would take care of, either because those with skills would be flexible enough to find alternative employment or would be dissuaded from migrating at all. But as it turned out, the key determinant of interest in moving to Australia among prospective skilled migrants was not Australia's labor market demand for their skills but "push" factors from migration source countries. Australia being one of the few western countries offering migration opportunities for skilled workers, reaped a harvest of applications in the late 1980s. This demand produced a sharp swing in the origin of skilled migrants from Western Europe and New Zealand towards the Indian sub-continent, Eastern Europe and unstable areas of East Asia. Migrants from these countries seem prepared to discount immediate employment prospects in the hope of long term benefits, including opportunities for their children. Once in Australia, many of these people had difficulty finding employment not only because of the recession but also because their training and experience were often poorly matched to Australian employers' needs. Arguments based on these unhappy outcomes contributed to the Government's decision to cut back sharply the Independent and Concessional categories in 1992-93.

As indicated, the Government is under pressure from the opposition to further contract the skilled categories. In addition, it faces the problem of justifying continued skilled migration while it is simultaneously encouraging an expansion in domestic vocational training. This will require quite a selling job given that recent Australian graduates in engineering and other fields where recent migrants have concentrated are among those hit worst by the recession. The Government may well have to contract the skilled intake further, leaving Australia with a migration program dominated by the family and humanitarian categories, as is currently the case in the U.S. and Canada.

The Prospects for Low-skilled Migration

A notable feature of the U.S. and Canadian migration scene is the relative absence of debate about the costs of incorporating low skilled family/humanitarian migrants into the respective societies. As noted, this has been a major issue in Australia. The North American experience suggests that one of the reasons is that low-skilled NES migration does not constitute any threat to the better organized and more articulate professional and trade associations. But in Australia, too, there is evidence that professionals and the "comfortable classes" in general rather like the cheap services promised by abundant migrant labor at the less skilled end of the labor market. Egalitarian norms inhibit explicit declaration of this preference. Nevertheless, it is hinted at continually as in the praise heaped on the ethnic communities for the cheap and tasty food their restaurants provide.

"...[U.S. Labor Secretary Robert] Reich notes ominously that in the inevitable debates over whether U.S. migration policy should reflect elite interests or those of the domestic workers who must compete with migrants, the former will 'most likely prevail.'"

Americans and Canadians seem more open about the virtues of cheap migrant labor. It is of interest here that Robert Reich, who now plays an important role in the Clinton administration, has noted the explicit interest of professional and business elites in opening up low wage migration flows. He argues from the American experience that these elites tend to view such migrants positively because they provide cheap and willing personal services. Many on the right favor a borderless world precisely because it will allow free market forces to work in this fashion. Few appear to fear that this competition will affect their own market situation. Though himself ambivalent on the issue, Reich notes ominously that in the inevitable debates over whether U.S. migration policy should reflect elite interests or those of the domestic workers who must compete with migrants, the former "will most likely prevail."[6]

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However in Australia, arguments for open borders (especially where it implies an increase in Third World family migration) have not been so prominent. Even those calling for expansion in the migration intake usually assume that the selection process will be carefully controlled. Perhaps this is because the Australian welfare system provides a higher and more secure safety net for recent arrivals than in the United States. Migrants are not eligible for unemployment benefits in the U.S. as (until 1993) they have been in Australia, though, as has been pointed out in recent issues of *The Social Contract,* they and their children must be provided with educational, public health and other services. In Australia, notable conservatives have been highly critical of the family and humanitarian categories in part because so many rely on state welfare assistance and costly English language and compensatory skills training. Another factor affecting conservative attitudes is the uncompromising "economic rationalist" stance leading figures have adopted in recent years. I refer here to the Australian version of the renewed faith in laissez-faire economics that has blossomed in the English-speaking world. Economic rationalism has prompted a skepticism — even hostility — to all "claimant" groups believed to be undermining marketplace incentives and thus the will to work. The ethnic lobby, because of its close links to the larger welfare lobby and evidence of NES background migrant welfare dependency, has been especially vulnerable to such criticism.

"There is no parallel in Australia to the American ideal of welcoming the downtrodden of the world to share in the American dream, nor of the typically breezy optimism accompanying such advocacy that American society will be invigorated by such an infusion."

But there is more to it than this. Conservatives in Australia have also drawn on nationalist arguments that immigration and multicultural policies are contributing to a breakdown in social cohesion and national unity. In this debate it is usually assumed that it is the family reunion intake which delivers most of the allegedly difficult-to-assimilate "ethnics." There is no parallel in Australia to the American ideal of welcoming the downtrodden of the world to share in the American dream, nor of the typically breezy optimism accompanying such advocacy that American society will be invigorated by such an infusion. Australia's immigration traditions are the reverse of this. Government, with strong public backing, have gone to great lengths to proscribe entry to the "downtrodden" or any other category thought likely to depress working conditions. Until the 1960s, the bar was along racial lines, preventing entry of all but a handful of non-whites. Australians have no heritage of thinking of themselves as "a nation of migrants" in the sense that the term is used in America. There have been recent attempts by ethnic advocates to propagate such themes, but in general they have been received without enthusiasm.

Australians tend to think much more pragmatically about migration than is acceptable in the United States. As Freeman has recently noted, Americans are discomforted by the kind of debate about the economics of immigration which is so prominent an aspect of the Australian scene.[7] Such debate implies a calculating attitude towards migrants which is far removed from the idealistic assumptions Americans bring to the issue. A similar point can be made about Canada, where ideals about the nation's "ethnic mosaic" currently seem to predominate in Canadians' conceptions of themselves as a people. As in the U.S., this makes it difficult to initiate any pragmatic debate about the economic or environmental consequences of immigration.

These attitudes within the Australian electorate have contributed to the breakdown of political bipartisanism on the immigration issue and to the reassessment of the family component — which until the late 1980s looked as though it had attained sacred-cow status. We can see this at work in the attitudes of conservative leaders. Those politicians indifferent or hostile to electoral concerns about multiculturalism or immigration have sometimes found to their cost that the grass roots party membership feel very strongly about these issues. Recent Liberal Party research has indicated that Party members feel more concerned about these issues than any others.[8] One notable supporter of multiculturalism and immigration, the former Liberal/National Party Minister for Immigration in the late 1970s, Mr. McPhee, lost his Party endorsement in

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part because of his outspoken support for the multicultural cause. The conservative parties' memberships reflect wider electoral concerns about immigration. The issue has been subject to far more public debate and takes a much higher public profile in Australia than in North America. Throughout the 1980s, substantial majorities of Australians have indicated in opinion polls that they want immigration reduced and that they do not support policies for the maintenance of ethnic cultures.

"There has not, however, been any breakthrough ... toward the development of a population policy addressing issues of long term ecological sustainability."

What role have organizations critically addressing Australia's population issues, like Australians for an Ecologically Sustainable Population or Australians Against Further Immigration, played in the changes described? Their impact has been significant, but mainly in keeping the issue in the news. Even more important has been the outspoken anti-migration stance taken by a few reputable and well known public figures, particularly Senator Walsh, a former Minister for Finance in the Labor Government, and John Howard, the former Liberal leader and now shadow Minister for Industrial Relations. Their involvement has been critical in breaking down elite consensus on the immigration and multicultural issues. There seems no parallel to these figures in the U.S. and Canada. But this probably reflects the greater anxiety about these questions within the Australian electorate and the awareness of politicians like Howard that their stance will be widely welcomed.

There has not, however, been any breakthrough within the ranks of either the Government or the opposition to the development of a population policy addressing issues of long term ecological sustainability. This has recently been put to the test via the recommendations of a Report by the Commonwealth Government's National Population Council (chaired by Professor Glen Withers). In 1990 the Government commissioned the Council to assess Australia's long term population situation. The Report is significant in that it recommended that the Government develop a population policy and suggested various institutional mechanisms designed to implement it. The Report concluded that a population policy was desirable on economic and environmental grounds and that "national ecological integrity would be best served by an active population policy which resulted in a reduced rate of population growth."[9] The Labor Government has rejected these considerations.

Neither the Labor Government nor the opposition have taken ecological factors seriously in rethinking immigration policy. Rather, they are driven by concerns about the labor market implications of continued immigration. These concerns are leading both parties to a new consensus favoring further contraction in the immigration intake.■

[A further analysis by Katharine Betts of this important Wither's Report, *Population Issues and Australia's Future*, will appear in the next issue of *The Social Contract*.]

NOTES

[1] The Committee to Advise on Australia's Immigration Policies, 1988, *Immigration: A Commitment to Australia*, AGPS, Canberra.

[2] Dr. John Hewson, November 11, 1992, "Address to the Bureau of Immigration Research Second National Immigration Outlook Conference," Parliament House, Canberra.

[3] Dr. John Hewson, July 25, 1992, "Address to the Liberal Party of Western Australia, Annual State Conference," Parliament House, Canberra.

[4] Media Release, Neal Blewett, Minister for Social Security, August 1992.

[5] The attitudes of the Australian intelligentsia on the issue are analyzed by Katharine Betts, 1988, *Ideology and Immigration*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

[6] Robert Reich, 1991, *The Work of Nations*, Knopf, New York, p. 289.

[7] Gary Freeman & Katharine Betts, 1992, "The Politics of Interest and Immigration Policymaking in Australia and the United States," in Gary Freeman and James Jupp (Eds), *Nations of Immigrants*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, p. 79.

[8] Australia 2000, 1991, *Australians Speak*, Leader of the Opposition, Parliament House, Canberra.

[9] National Population Council, Population Issues Committee, 1992, Final Report, *Population Issues and Australia's Future*, AGPS, Canberra, p. 109.

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In previous issues of The Social Contract, *and also in Barbara McCarthy's report on page 174, the staggering costs of immigrants to local governments are documented. This article focuses on what can be dome specifically in one state to make some reductions. Lance Izumi is director of the Golden State Center for Policy Studies at the Claremont Institute, Sacramento, CA; Alan Nelson is a former commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, now residing in Sacramento.*

How California Can Lead the Way Against Illegal Immigration

By Lance Izumi and Alan Nelson

In a 1992 Roper Poll, 86 percent of Americans said that illegal immigration is an important issue. Yet with a few notable exceptions, our political leaders have been silent on the issue. Why?

Part of the reason lies in the reluctance of many of our leaders to violate the taboos of "political correctness." According to the standards of this code, law and common sense are no excuses for opposing the growing tide of Mexicans flooding into California each day. Thus Congressman Dana Rohrabacher and others have found that standing against this tide invites charges of racism in the liberal media.

In addition, state officials often dismiss illegal immigration as a federal problem, saying that there is little they can do about it. While it is true that *border control* is a federal responsibility, there is a whole range of actions that California can take on its own, now, to discourage illegal immigration.

The root of the problem in California lies in the incentives to illegal immigration which exist in the state and which can be largely eliminated at the state level. Below we list the most important areas in which incentives exist and numerous specific reform measures which should be taken.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- **In the Area of Government Benefits:**

1. Implement the Systematic Alien Verification for Entitlement computerized data system (SAVE) in all state agencies that grant benefits.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service maintains SAVE, which lists all legal residents in the United States. The federal government now uses SAVE to prevent illegal immigrants from obtaining welfare and other cash benefits to which they are not entitled: If a person's name does not show up on the computer lists, he or she does not get the benefit. At this time, many state agencies in charge of supplying benefits do not use SAVE. They should be required to do so by executive order and/or legislation without delay.

2. Employ SAVE to screen public housing applicants.

State government funds public housing, both by operating public-housing facilities and by making grants to builders and others for the construction or rehabilitation of homes and rental units. Unfortunately — like the Department of Housing and Urban Development in Washington, D.C. — the state does not screen public housing applicants to determine their residency status. The officials and agencies involved should be required to do so.

"...the state does not screen public housing applicants to determine their residency status."

3. Employ SAVE at the Department of Motor Vehicles.

Obtaining benefits often requires valid identification such as a driver's license. Procuring such identification is far too easy. The Department of Motor Vehicles, for instance, rarely asks about residency status when issuing a driver's license. It should be required to verify such status before any license is issued.

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4. Require information-sharing between state agencies and the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

As things stand, there is precious little sharing of information among different agencies at different levels of government. Procedures should be established to require state and county agencies to notify each other and the INS when they have information that illegal immigrants are applying for benefits.

- **In the Area of Education:**

1. Restrict admission to state universities to citizens and legal residents.

Currently, qualified applicants are being turned away from the public universities of their choice because of budget limitations and overcrowding. Yet these tax-supported schools admit illegal immigrants. In a report by the state Auditor General, it is estimated that the cost to the California taxpayer of illegal immigrant students just at San Diego State University and California State University-San Marcos is $635,000. This situation is absurd. It can and should be stopped.[1]

"...tax supported schools admit illegal immigrants."

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2. Challenge the U.S. Supreme Court's 1982 decision in *Pyler v. Doe* requiring the states to provide public education at the elementary and secondary levels to illegal immigrant children.

In California's ongoing budget crisis, rising education costs represent the biggest problem. To a large extent, the bloated education bureaucracy is at fault. Still, the fact is that a new school has to be built each day to meet demand. In this light, it makes no sense that California taxpayers are forced to finance the education of children who are in our country illegally. The Supreme Court decision behind this requirement — one of the oddest and potentially most destructive decisions in the history of the Court[2] — passed a decade ago by a slim 5 to 4 vote. There is now new blood on the Supreme Court and this issue screams to be revisited. California taxpayers, school districts, county governments and/or the Attorney General should initiate legal actions to bring the matter back before the courts.

- **In the Area of Employment:**

1. Initiate a statewide policy to transfer jobs from illegal immigrants to unemployed American citizens and legal residents who are now receiving welfare.

Unemployment in California is nearing 10 percent and welfare costs are skyrocketing. Cooperative efforts should be established among county welfare departments, the State Employment Development Department, and the Immigration and Naturalization Service to ensure that when illegal immigrants are apprehended and removed from work sites, legal workers (particularly those on welfare) are referred to the employer to fill the vacancies. Incentives, such as reduced fines, can be given to cooperating employers. Such action on the part of the governor and/or the legislature will at once reduce welfare costs, unemployment, and the black market job pool which represents a significant incentive for illegal immigration.

"... over half of those employing illegal immigrants in California do not withhold taxes from their wages."

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2. Require the California Employment Development Department to employ SAVE to screen out illegal immigrant job applicants.

Currently, while applicants for unemployment insurance are screened to ensure that they are citizens or legal residents — and while federal law requires private employers to screen applicants — an illegal immigrant can walk into a state EDD office and receive job-placement assistance. EDD should be directed by the governor and/or by legislation to remedy the situation immediately with strict screening procedures.

3. Require similar screening practices at city job centers.

Many cities operate their own tax-funded job centers to assist people in finding jobs. Like EDD, many of these do not screen their clients to determine if they are illegal immigrants. The legislature should act now to require them to do so.

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4. Increase penalties for employers who fail to withhold taxes from illegal immigrant workers.

As noted above, over half of those employing illegal immigrants in California do not withhold taxes from their wages. Penalties for this practice should be increased and the back-taxes collected should be forfeited to the state.

- **In the Area of Criminal Justice:**

1. Deport illegal immigrants currently in our court system, jails, and prisons.

Illegal immigrants often pass through our court system without ever being identified as illegal. In Orange County, the Superior Court recently invited the Immigration and Naturalization Service into the courtrooms to identify and process illegal immigrant defendants. This approach worked and should be initiated statewide. The initial costs will more than be repaid in a short period through increased deportations.

"At the end of their term, [illegal immigrant] convicts should be immediately deported."

Likewise, state and county governments should work with the federal government to provide hearing space and staff to conduct deportation hearings for all illegal immigrant convicts now in California jails or prisons. Upon the end of their terms, these convicts should be immediately deported.

2. Pass state legislation to override so-called "sanctuary laws."

In a number of cities such as San Francisco, local laws have been passed which forbid local police from cooperating with the Immigration and Naturalization Service. State legislation should be passed to prohibit and override these laws. Federal, state, and local law enforcement must be allowed to cooperate to uphold immigration law as they do other kinds of law.

Conclusion

Human beings respond to incentives. Current policies in California that make it easy for illegal immigrants to enjoy government benefits, receive free or tax-subsidized education, gain employment, and take advantage of our criminal justice system serve as incentives to illegal immigration. Change these policies to remove these incentives and illegal immigration will decrease. It's that simple.

California must not hesitate to make these changes. Illegal immigration is exacerbating the state's crime problem and represents an increasing drain on its financial resources. What is more, despite the new euphemism for illegal immigrants — "undocumented immigrants" — these people are in our country illegally. We are a nation where law is king, and to openly allow and even encourage a class of people to exist above the law is to subvert one of our dearest constitutional principles.

Illegal immigration at its current high levels is an economic disaster in the making and a national disgrace. California should take the lead in acting to stop it now. ■

NOTES

[1] A recent court challenge brought by 11 immigration-reform, taxpayer, and law-enforcement organizations against the California State University system resulted in the court ordering an end to CSU's practice of granting resident-tuition benefits to illegal aliens.

[2] See Glen H. Thurow, *The Transformation of American Citizenship* (The Claremont Institute, 1990).

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Don Barnett, who writes from Brentwood, TN, lived and worked for nearly two years in the former Soviet Union. He has extensive contacts with the refugee community in the United States. An abridged version of this essay appeared in the Christian Science Monitor.

Immigrants By Any Other Name...

Flow From Former Soviet Union Reveals Refugee Farce

By Don Barnett

In the recent debate about who is a political refugee and who is an economic migrant, very little is said about the slide of United States refugee policy into politics and PAC economics.

Immigration from the former Soviet Union illustrates the uses and limits of U.S. refugee policy. A refugee, according to the Refugee Act of 1980 is an individual who has been persecuted or who has "well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion." By definition, the act empowers the U.S. to respond quickly and with flexibility when a need arises to provide refuge to those in imminent danger at home who have nowhere else to go.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) now places 16 to 17 million people in that category worldwide. In 1992, the U.S. funded the admission of about 122,000 refugees (roughly 16 percent of all legal immigration). Of these, 61,000 were admitted as refugees from the polity known as the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), the largest number from a single region and more than twice the statutory immigration limit per country.

There are some important advantages refugees enjoy over regular immigrants, like a cash allotment and an interest-free loan for transportation to the United States. (Since the inception of the loan program in 1980, the State Department has collected less than 31 cents for every dollar loaned for transportation to the U.S.) The federal portion of the bill for refugee resettlement was 709.3 million dollars in FY92.[1] Focusing on the federal portion of resettlement costs, however, ignores expenditures on social services after the initial settlement period of 8 months. Most of the true cost of refugee absorption is borne outside the refugee-specific budget items, at the state and local as well as the federal level. According to the National Association of Governors, state and local expenditures on refugee support are "conservatively" estimated at $620 million for the first year of refugee support alone.

A 1991 U.S. Department of Health and Human Services study indicates about 44 percent of refugees from the CIS (former Soviet Union) are receiving cash public assistance a year after arrival, well after federal refugee assistance has run out. The actual welfare dependency rate is higher since the study excluded all individuals over 64 and those who received only non-cash assistance. (14.5 percent of arriving refugees from the CIS are over 65 and move directly into the Social Security and Medicare systems.) Quoting from the budget proposed for 1993 by the Bush administration: "Refugees would continue to be eligible for regular welfare on the same basis as citizens." In fact, refugees are actively encouraged to use Medicaid and other programs such as food stamps and public housing.

"...refugees [from the former Soviet Union] are actively encouraged to use Medicaid and other programs such as food stamps and public housing."

According to the UNHCR, almost no one emigrating from the CIS today is a refugee. Nevertheless, the Lautenberg Amendment of 1989 was recently extended for two more years, defining entire groups in the CIS as subject to persecution and thus entitled to refugee status under U.S. law:

> *Once an individual asserts that he is a member of the covered class and asserts that he has been persecuted or has a fear of*

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persecution that individual shall be deemed a refugee, subject only to whatever countervailing the INS may have or produce to establish that the individual was not persecuted or could not reasonably have a well founded fear of persecution.

With a perfunctory assertion of persecution the applicant learns that dissemination is as important for getting by in America as it was at home in the old USSR. Eighty percent of the refugee quota goes to Jewish applicants, most of the balance is awarded to Evangelicals — among whom has been reported a wave of dubious conversions and a tendentious vision about a miraculous gateway to the west.

"Processing immigrants as refugees ... transfers the costs of resettlement from the sponsor and the immigrant to the taxpayer."

Because of the great numbers with automatic eligibility (7,000 to 8,000 applications a month), Russian refugees of today, besides belonging to "Lautenberg" categories, must have relatives in America — themselves recent beneficiaries of the resettlement program. In this, refugee admission parallels the chain migration of family members that typifies most immigration to the United States. Since citizenship is not required of the "anchor" relative, it is, more precisely, an accelerated version of immigration minus the requirement that the visa-holder be an individual unlikely to become a public charge. We don't know how many refugees could be admitted to the U.S. as regular immigrants — either under recently expanded (but still small) skilled worker categories or because of family ties with U.S. citizens. About a third of the more than 300,000 we have accepted since 1975 have been here long enough to be citizens and thus could serve as "anchor" relatives for normal immigration. It is clear that the regular immigration quota is underutilized vis à vis the refugee quota. This year less than 3,000 will be admitted as immigrants from the CIS.

Refugee status is the destination of choice for those immigrating to America and for those in America who would otherwise have to help with the costs. Processing immigrants as refugees sets the stage for special group infighting for privileged admission status, and transfers the costs of resettlement from the sponsor and the immigrant to the taxpayer. More importantly, it weakens the necessary link to an established community and the need for integration into the culture, language and economy. While the U.S. has defined broad legal categories for refugee admission, it has, paradoxically, surrendered all control over the selection of individuals who enter the U.S.; that decision is the prerogative of the would-be immigrant and can be made with little sacrifice or regard for economic conditions in the host country.

It's no surprise that the Russian press now trumpets the U.S. as a "poor man's paradise" for the quick-witted. Entrepreneurs, propagating an updated version of the streets-are-paved-with-gold myth, hawk advice in Moscow about working the ropes of social services in New York. Their prime victim may be individuals like one of my Russian friends: he is near retirement, he has no skills, he does not speak English, and he is planning to emigrate because he is convinced "a person can live beautifully on welfare in America."

Most refugees from the CIS also have the option to go to Israel, a migration which the Israeli philosopher Avishai Margalit says "is closely linked with the possibility of immigration to the United States." Recently, immigration from the CIS to Israel has dropped to the point where it equals the numbers going to America and there is some debate about whether the U.S. should accept even more emigrants who might otherwise go to Israel.

"Our refugee policy has outlived its historical mission and now plays a part in any number of agenda quite unrelated to providing sanctuary to those fleeing persecution."

Alton Frye, Washington director of the Council on Foreign Relations, writes that the option to admit more Jewish emigrants to America gives the States Department leverage over Israel in the Mideast peace process. The pro-Arab lobby, and a growing constituency of recent arrivals from the former Soviet

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Union and their supporters, would like the U.S. to take all those who would otherwise be emigrants to Israel. Israel may be the only serious counterforce to practically irresistible political pressure for greatly expanded subsidized immigration to the U.S. from the CIS.

Our refugee policy has outlived its historical mission and now plays a part in any number of agenda quite unrelated to providing sanctuary to those fleeing persecution. Any discussion about the future of U.S. refugee policy must be premised on the privatization of most immigration from the former Soviet Union. Such a discussion should be part of a larger national debate about the impact of public assistance on all forms of immigration. As a starter, bringing the costs home to the beneficiaries is a modest suggestion for rationalizing the decision about who gets in and who pays.

Perhaps only in a place like the old Soviet Union would it come as no surprise that a policy which began with a humanitarian concern has ended so thoroughly in politics. ■

NOTE

[1] 410.6 million - Office of Refugee Resettlement, Health and Human Services;
192.3 million - State Department;
93.2 million - "other" at Health and Human Services;
13.2 million - "administration" at INS/Justice Department.

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Frederick R. Lynch is visiting associate professor of Government at Claremont McKenna College, Claremont, CA and the author of Invisible Victims: White Males and the Crisis of Affirmative Action *(Greenwood/Praeger).* *This essay, © 1992, appeared in* Academic Questions, *vol. 5, no. 2, Spring 1992 and is reprinted by permission.*

Managing Diversity:
Multiculturalism Enters the Workplace

By Frederick R. Lynch

During the past twenty years, affirmative action policies in American businesses and government agencies have evolved far beyond their initial legal mandate. Originally designed to ensure nondiscrimination and equal opportunity (especially for blacks), affirmative action has become a machine enforcing equal results for an expanding list of protected groups. Now, a third generation of race-conscious policies is taking shape. "Managing diversity" programs are a blend of affirmative action, demographic forecasts, business administration, and the doctrines of multiculturalism that first emerged within the academy.

Old-style affirmative action advocates tend to be morally strident and backwardly-focused upon reparation and collective guilt. The savvy architects of managing diversity are far more pragmatic and future-oriented. Burgeoning minority, immigrant, and female populations, they contend, will make affirmative action a more "naturally occurring" initial phase in a long-term, multistage process. The new task is to retain and promote female and minority employees by fashioning a multicultural environment where each individual can maximize his potential. Its proponents promise that diversity management will enhance organizational effectiveness by achieving and "valuing" supposed cultural diversity at all levels.

Though social scientists have largely ignored the diversity management movement, a growing body of professional literature is being published in business and personnel journals. Books on the topic have recently appeared — notably R. Roosevelt Thomas's *Beyond Race and Gender* and David Jamieson and Julie O'Mara's *Managing Workforce 2000.* Workshops and conferences have also proliferated, the capstone event being the First Annual National Diversity Conference held in May 1991. Observing this gathering of key consultants and clients gave me the chance to examine budding consensus and conflict in multiculturalism's latest policy offspring.

The San Francisco Conference: Day One

In the midst of a recession, nearly three hundred people prepaid the $1,000-per-person registration fee ($700 for members of non-profit organizations). More accurately, many attendees' fees were paid by approximately fifty-two corporations, twenty-three Federal government agencies, eighteen state and city agencies, and an assortment of non-profit organizations. Boise Cascade alone supplied eleven conventioneers; AT&T and Battelle Pacific Northwest Labs each sent ten; Dupont fielded a team of seven; Hughes Aircraft, six. Corporate presence tilted heavily towards high tech, aerospace, financial services, and utilities, but such consumer product firms as Pillsbury, General Mills, Miller Brewing, Procter and Gamble, Gillette, Nordstrom's, Reese, and Kinney Shoes were also represented.

The Central Intelligence Agency sent the largest Federal delegation: six people. Other agencies represented include: the Internal Revenue Service, the Department of Defense, NASA, the Food and Drug Administration, the General Accounting Office, the Secret Service, the Environmental Protection Agency, the Department of Agriculture, the United States Postal Service, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Smithsonian. Despite recent discrimination disputes, the Federal Bureau of Investigation registered no one.

Higher education, already awash in crosscultural and diversity conferences, was lightly represented, but there was a sizable contingent of consultants with backgrounds in college and university affirmative action administration. They were busily circulating business cards even before the proceedings began.

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In his opening remarks, psychiatrist/consultant Price Cobbs, author of *Black Rage* and co-organizer of the conference, set a tone of historical mission, inspiration, critical discussion, and — surprisingly — political tolerance. After modestly comparing the historic and psychological significance of the conference to the founding of the United Nations, Cobbs saluted the mushrooming interest in diversity management. Echoing jargon already familiar in the academy, he said that these policies indicate a shift from colorblindness to recognition of "that which is different." By allowing culturally different persons to be "of themselves," he said diversity-wise organizations enhance their effectiveness.

Yet Cobbs admitted that complex issues are involved. He cautioned participants to beware of excesses of political correctness and even to consider, in candid, "nonjudgmental" fashion, the increasing white hostility and unease concerning diversity pressures.

Not everyone agreed. In a panel discussion following Cobb's speech, NASA affirmative action officer Harriet Jenkins was not about to follow movement leaders' attempts to distance managing diversity from the more aggressive forms of affirmative action. She insisted that affirmative action's ultimate goal is workforce diversity. Her remarks were greeted by murmurs of approval from dozens of current and former affirmative action officers in the audience.

Another panelist, Stanford University administrator and consultant Jean Kim, moved briskly through a paper on "models of diversity management." Least favored were "conservative" models that tried merely to "help people do better what they did already." Kim said she would work with only those organizations that accept the "multicultural model" of valuing ethnic differences, empowering employees, and decreasing white male dominance in corporate culture.

The third panelist, Digital Equipment vice president William Hanson, chronicled his conversion to diversity management. His efforts in the early 1970s to manage Digital's few ethnically mixed plants had mixed results. Then he met Price Cobbs in 1976. Cobbs introduced Hanson to the idea of institutional racism. This "cornerstone diversity concept" posits that discrimination is invisibly built into taken-for-granted, white male organizational attitudes and practices. However, convincing all white males that they are privileged and powerful can be difficult. Hanson accomplished this by sending Digital subordinates to intensive, small-scale sensitivity workshops in Cobb's San Francisco offices.

"...managers must make efforts to legitimize workplace discussions of ethnic and cultural differences ... white males must be brought into the process" — Pacific Bell lawyer Michael Rodriguez"

The fourth panelist, Pacific Bell lawyer Michael Rodriguez, sounded several key conference themes. True to diversity management scenarios, his company's changing customer demographics had stimulated diversity in its workforce (now 70 percent female and minority). This had been "accomplished" even during massive reductions ("rightsizing") in personnel. Rodriguez echoed two emerging conference themes: that managers must make efforts to legitimize workplace discussions of ethnic and cultural differences and that white males must be brought into the process.

A question and answer session followed, moderated by Ann Morrison, author of *Breaking the Glass Ceiling*. She rejected Harriet Jenkin's easy link between affirmative action and diversity, and pointed to more complex issues, including white "backlash problems." In response, Jenkins reiterated the standard bureaucratic line: cultural diversity goals are fully compatible with Equal Employment Opportunity Commission principles; affirmative action aims to redress past injustices and is required by law; it does not mean hiring unqualified persons. Managing diversity, she said, simply looks at resultant workplace problems and addresses subtler issues like informal norms. No one suggested that perhaps "backlash problems" arise when informal race-conscious procedures violate official rules.

Stanford's Jean Kim went a bit deeper into the possible clash between legally mandated equal treatment and diversity management's emphasis on ethnic and gender difference in personnel practices. Kim suggested that "fair treatment," not equal

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treatment, is the solution. Strictly evaluating women and minorities according to qualifications established by white males, she said, is unfair. Having been crafted by the "dominant group," such standards are *ipso facto* biased. What is required, according to Kim, are more relevant evaluation criteria. (A panelist on the second day of the conference endorsed culturally-adjusted treatment by comparing it to his mother's philosophy of child rearing: "I love each of you as much as you need it." No one questioned the propriety of maternalism in the workplace.)

"...the only way to sell CEOs on diversity management is to emphasize the bottom line, cost-saving, competitive advantages of gearing up for workforce and customer cultural diversity."
— Kevin Sullivan of Apple Computer

Politically correct muscles were gently flexed when the audience was asked whether hard-line "goals and timetables" should be retained in managing diversity. Two-thirds of the conventioneers raised hands to indicate they approved. But when asked who disapproved, only three hands went up from a cowed or undecided minority. Knowing laughter rippled through the audience.

After lunch and meetings of "focus groups," conventioneers reconvened in the grand ballroom to hear the other principal co-organizer of the conference, San Francisco State University psychologist/consultant Herbert G. Wong. In his remarks, "From T-Group to Managing Diversity," Wong confirmed the frequent observation that strong commitment and backing by high-level CEOs are necessary if long-term diversity management is to become a reality.

The day's proceedings closed with a brief, warm, multicultural benediction given by Elizabeth Parent, chair of American Indian Studies at San Francisco State University. Welcoming conventioneers "to our liberating, productive and profit-making journey," Parent not unexpectedly put in a plug for Indian history and customs. Indians value the aged, Parent informed the audience, and Iroquois Indian Laws contained provisions for gender balance, a feature omitted when writers of the United States Constitution "plagiarized" much of the Iroquois system.

The San Francisco Conference: Day Two

In a grimly realistic keynote address, Kevin Sullivan, a senior vice-president of Apple Computer, said that the only way to sell CEOs on diversity management is to emphasize the bottom-line, cost-saving, competitive advantages of gearing up for workforce and customer cultural diversity: "It's business, not social work." The approach must be rational, not punitive or preachy.

After Sullivan's talk, I joined about thirty others packed into a small conference room for diversity management superstar Lewis Griggs's work-shop on "working with white male power structures." In partnership with ex-wife Lennie Copeland, Griggs produced the highly successful videotape series "Valuing Diversity" ($4600 corporate rate for the seven-tape series, $500 to $1000 per tape; $1500 per person for training sessions on implementing the series). Convention participants had already been provided complimentary tote bags bearing the "Valuing Diversity" Copeland-Griggs logo.

Griggs began by discussing how individual differences ("differences are assets") get lost in group stereotyping. To illustrate this, Griggs invited us to stereotype him. We did: as an upper-middle-class yuppie. Griggs admitted that in many ways he is a "demographic cliche." Indeed, he possesses such yuppie attributes as a Volvo, two kids, a divorce, Gucci shoes, and a gold neck chain. But the Inner Griggs is different. Beneath his shirt and tie, on his gold chain there hangs a cross, a symbol of Griggs's renewed spirituality. His diversity work and spirituality, he claimed, reinforce each other.

Griggs explained that confessing he's a "recovering racist, classist, and sexist" works as a catalyst with white male managers. Admitting one's own ethnocentrism establishes interpersonal trust. This is valuable in getting corporate types and others to undergo the personal transformation vital to diversity training: "You have to get individual buy-in from the power structure. ... I want to try and use the white male senior management language. ... You have to understand where white male managers are." "Establish trust, then set them up."

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Griggs said he wanted to present approaches he'd found successful in reaching white male senior management and then show "Champions of Diversity," one of his latest videos. Yet, Griggs continued discussing the importance of differences. The cliche that people are mostly alike may be true, he indicated, but it is not the similarities that cause problems. Differences cause problems. Diversity management involves recognizing, discussing, and valuing differences.

An almost palpable level of frustration and impatience had been building in the conference room. Many in the workshop were consultants or human resource officers who already knew what Griggs was talking about. They had expected Griggs to reveal major secrets of getting in to see The Man. But he wasn't. Some walked out. Others interrupted Griggs with questions. "What if they tell you to take your 'personal work' and shove it? Then what?"

Then talk dollars and demographics, Griggs replied. Talk about EEOC complaints, lawsuits, recruitment and retention problems, training expenses lost when people leave. Focus on the changing demographics in terms of workforce and customer bases.

Griggs said he sees himself as a "conservative in support of liberal-radical systems of free enterprise and democracy." Diversity management is a tool to preserve the system. It's in the self-interest of white males to get on board. "As a white male, I'm not going to be able to maintain my power if I can't learn to work with people different from myself — given the changing demographics. I won't be able to compete with people who have bicultural skills."

A white female diversity officer from a liberal arts college protested, "I've been working for the same liberal arts college for five years. The president still doesn't understand why I'm there. He doesn't know about pluralism. How do I get through his office door?"

Griggs repeated that he'd been trying to model approaches he'd found to be useful in dealing with white male senior managers. Selling diversity to managers involves a balance of talk about demographic and money-saving benefits and deft use of his videotapes. The latter takes managers "away from themselves," allowing them to look at familiar situations anew.

Still struggling with the workshop participants' dissatisfaction, Griggs repeated that he speaks the language of white male executives: "I'm weaned on it." "It's my culture," he explained. Griggs seemed to be saying that the key to working with white male power structures is to be a white male. This infuriated the largely female and minority audience.

"[Lewis] Griggs seemed to be saying that the key to working with white male power structures is to be a white male. This infuriated the largely female and minority audience."

Griggs then asked if we still wanted to see his videotape.

"No."

After the workshop, I asked Griggs about the diversity argument that a workforce should be ethnically matched to its clientele. Wasn't suggesting that Hispanics sell to Hispanics rather like the pre-1960s segregationist rationale that white clients would only accept white salespeople? The weary Griggs answered that it was a good question, but reflected too much white male, linear, critical thinking.

Flaws and Dangers

Though diversity management is ideologically derived from the multiculturalist movement sweeping through academia, its proponents like to emphasize the practical, demographic basis of their programs. Ironically, the data used to boost their left-leaning agenda were provided by the neoconservative Hudson Institute. In 1987, the Institute's *Workforce 2000* forecast, or seemed to forecast, a significant increase in the percentage of minorities and women in the workforce — and a corresponding sharp decrease in the percentage of new white male workers. The impact of *Workforce 2000* converged with growing integration of global labor and consumer markets. Especially since the collapse of Soviet and East European Communism, even small and middle-sized companies have begun to ponder the implications of multiethnic labor and consumer bases at home and abroad.

In fact, *Workforce 2000* has been misinterpreted. As Terrance Dunford has pointed out, this report

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shows only that the percentage of *new* entrants to the workforce will be predominantly minority or female — and of these two, mostly female.[1] The impact of these statistics on the total workforce has been grossly exaggerated by multiculturalism's boosters, and further exaggerated by those who project them onto the entire populace.

"...corporate culture adjusts to the ethnic and lifestyle cultures of employees — not the other way around. Pluralism, not assimilation, is assumed."

Still, the exaggerations have been generally accepted. Managing diversity consultants offer to help corporations and government clients gain a competitive edge by adjusting to the supposed new ethnic mix in the workforce and among consumers. Note the emphasis: corporate culture adjusts to the ethnic and lifestyle cultures of employees — not the other way around. Pluralism, not assimilation, is assumed.

This agenda contains an important legal corollary. If cultural diversity is an organizational goal, then an individual's ethnic/gender status becomes a legitimate factor in hiring and promotion. This logic offers a new path around nondiscrimination laws. Hiring a Hispanic because he is Hispanic is not discrimination against non-Hispanics for it is done to enhance diversity. The argument is that diversity increases effectiveness by integrating the organization with a changing population: race-conscious hiring and promotion is good business. Diversity management offers to soften quotas by suggesting that ethnicity or gender may be one factor among several to be considered in selecting students or personnel — *à la* Justice Powell's reasoning in the 1978 Supreme Court's *Bakke* decision. But this is illusory. Corporations and government agencies increasingly tie managers' evaluations and financial bonuses to their divisions' affirmative action records. And departments in many major universities compete for "diversity positions" that can be filled only by minorities. With such organizational rewards for hiring and promoting members of preferred groups (or possible penalties for the failure to do so), a candidate's ethnicity or gender can quickly become *the* determining factor. Down this road lies a confrontation with the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and other nondiscrimination statutes.

Nor will diversity proponents distance themselves from affirmative action's negative press if they do not address problems of reverse discrimination and double standards. I observed passive alienation and white male sniping about reverse discrimination hamper and embarrass diversity managers six months later at a day-long diversity training session given to mid-level city employees. Many at the First Annual Diversity Conference were well aware of this problem. Keynoters and participants constantly reminded conventioneers that diversity should include "everyone" and that "nonmanagement white males" need to be "brought into diversity programs." But no one knew how to discuss the white male rank and file without breaching the politically correct stereotype that all white males are "privileged."

The negative potential of race-based, demography-is-destiny policies is enormous. Overly zealous "strong managers" anxious to "get right with the future" — to quote *Miami Herald* publisher David Lawrence — could construct a coercive, corporate pluralism, furthering the dangerous legal trend toward making individual rights and equal opportunity secondary to group membership and proportional representation. (Such strategies could also serve ulterior motives of replacing aging, more expensive white Baby Boomers with younger, minority replacements.)

Coercive pluralism can be imposed at the expense of working- and middle-class whites. But will it be worth the price of poisoned personnel relations and intensified race-based politics? ■

NOTE

[1] Terrance Dunford, "Higher Education Confronts the 'New Demographics,'" *Academic Questions 5* (Winter 1990-91).

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Amitai Etzioni is a professor at George Washington University, a former White House advisor, and a founding editor of The Responsive Community. *His most recent book is* The Spirit of Community: Rights, Responsibilities, and the Communitarian Agenda *(New York: Crown Publishers, Inc. 1993). This opinion piece originally appeared in the* Chicago Tribune *on August 12, 1992.*

Seeking Pluralism Within Unity

By Amitai Etzioni

Little attention has been paid in the current debate about the Los Angeles riots to what kind of relations we may expect to develop among the various groups that constitute our cities and, ultimately, American society. Liberals, true to their colors, are stressing that government ought to provide jobs and housing; conservatives are concerned with law and order.

Typically, many politicos favor a little of both. (President Bush, for example, called for "Weed and Seed.") Implicit in both approaches is that once all Americans have a place to live that they own, and get off welfare and go to work, they will become regular Americans and live in harmony with one another. They will "buy into the system," we are promised.

Unfortunately, all these measures will not ensure that the various racial and ethnic groups that now constitute a majority in cities such as Los Angeles will see themselves as members of one overarching community. Studies of hate show that middle-class blacks, who are well endowed with all these advantages, feel as rejected as lower-class blacks. And many hard-working, home-owning whites in places like Bensonhurst, N.Y., and South Boston feel hostile toward black Americans.

What kind of society, in terms of relations among groups, can we reasonably expect to attain? Many Americans seem still to favor a melting pot, in which distinct ethnic identities are boiled down into one American stew. They are looking forward to a society in which all persons will be accepted on the basis of their individual characteristics and not their background.

Historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr., in his recent book, *The Disuniting of America*, cites those who view American culture as a great "solvent" that, like paint remover, will bleach out all traces of a divisive, immigrant past. Shelby Steele, a black author, calls for blacks to rise as individuals rather than as a group or class.

The opposite ideal is behind the vague concept that America is, or ought to become, a "people of color." Much has been made of the concept of multiculturalism, which seeks to replace the traditional curriculum of "dead white men" with a potpourri of writings by Africans, Asians, Native Americans and feminists. The underlying sociological notion, which has gained much less attention, is that we shall then live next to one another like various tribes, like the colors of the rainbow, with few or no shared values.

As I see it, as a communitarian sociologist deeply concerned about American society, the "melting pot" ideal is unnecessarily homogenizing, while the "people of color" notion is unduly divisive. What we need is a new concept that explicitly recognizes that every mosaic requires some framework and glue, a concept of pluralism-within-unity. There is no reason to pressure people to give up their heritage, their subculture, their hyphen.

Pluralism, however, must be continued within a strong framework of shared values, if we are not going to gradually become a Yugoslavia. Specifically, people of all groups must recognize that democracy, with all its flaws, is by far the best political system there is. We cannot allow the commitment to democracy to be lost among notions of the virtues of tribal consensus or town hall meetings, which may be wonderful for small groups but are unworkable for a nation.

And all Americans must accept the primacy of the Constitution and its Bill of Rights, precisely because it provides a fine balance between a commitment to shared purposes, the "general welfare" (as stated in the Preamble), and the protection of individuals and minority rights (in many of the amendments). Finally, we all must

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subscribe to the value of mutual tolerance among the diverse sub-groups that make up America.

Given such a framework, we can face a sociological fact we are rarely willing to face: members of various ethnic and racial groups rarely love one another dearly. Once segregation and discrimination are overcome, blacks will be able to see that the occasional animosity they experience is a reflection of *normal* group relations.

"The 'melting pot' ideal is unnecessarily homogenizing, while the 'people of color' notion is unduly divisive. What we need is a new concept that explicitly recognizes that every mosaic requires some framework and glue."

Scandinavian-Americans often feel some antipathy toward Italian-Americans; many Jews toward gentiles; and Asian-Americans toward others, and so on. Indeed, ethnic groups may snub some of their own. Thus, among Hispanics, many of South American heritage hold those from Central America or Puerto Rico in less than high regard.

While these feelings can be muted and contained, it may well be impossible to eradicate all such group feelings.

Above all, in-group feelings are not incompatible with maintaining civility and an overarching community. Recent suggestions, by Mickey Kaus, the author of *The End of Equality*, and Pat Gurin, a social psychologist at the University of Michigan, that we should move to ensure that people of different backgrounds will be made to live next to one another, are too aggressive. One can be adamantly opposed to redlining, racial covenants, and so on, without seeking to prevent people of similar background from choosing to congregate in one community.

Rather than expecting a widespread sense of brotherhood and sisterhood among all Americans one-on-one, we should realize that we can live peacefully with one another — and maintain our subcultures — as long as we continuously recommit to the framework values that hold the pieces together. School, ethnic, racial and community leaders should make the core of their post-L.A. agenda not a New Age eradication of group differences and a citywide love-feast, but a shoring up of the commitments of the various groups to respect one another and the community they share. ■

Just What Is 'Xenophobia'?

American xenophobia was still noticeable, though often concealed by kindness, when I arrived in this country with my family in early 1939. A number of relatives and friends in Italy had asked us to look for positions for them. When I talked about this with friendly persons in the East, a frequent reply was: There are not enough jobs for Americans. Why should we let more Europeans come over?"

— Laura Fermi, wife of Enrico in *Illustrious Immigrants*, University of Chicago Press, 1968.

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Bilingual education has become a political tool for ethnic leaders as well as an educational establishment in itself. What do the scores reveal about its success rate? The article below is a press release from Research in English Acquisition and Development, Inc. (READ).

Do Bilingual Programs Work?

Study Finds that Immersion Boosts Student Achievement

When it comes to finding the best way to educate students whose first language isn't English, educators and researchers after 25 years of study and numerous programs are still deeply divided. To make the educational playing field level, some argue that the best way to teach students English is to gradually introduce them to the language through so-called transitional bilingual education programs. Others say that transitional programs made "second class" students out of non-English speaking children. They argue that students fare better when they're given special programs in English rather than years of instruction in the native language.

While the report of a new study produced early in 1992 does not resolve the debate, it does shed new light on what is one of the most contentious issues in educational policy.

Commissioned by the READ Institute, a non-profit, nonpartisan research organization in Washington, DC, the study, "Bilingual Immersion: A Longitudinal Evaluation of the El Paso Program," looked at the "last academic effects" of bilingual immersion and transitional bilingual education, two distinctly different approaches to teaching language-minority students in the El Paso, Texas, public schools. Immersion program students are taught all subjects in English from the first day of school, with 60-90 minutes daily of Spanish language lessons. Practically the opposite is true for students in transitional bilingual education classes: they are taught all subjects in Spanish, with 60-90 minutes a day of English lessons.

Overall, the study found that students who had been taught using transitional bilingual methods were not better off academically than those who had received instruction in the immersion classes. "The correlation between improved student performance and transitional bilingual education just isn't there," said READ board member Rosalie Pedalino Porter, author of *Forked Tongue: The Politics of Bilingual Education* [Reviewed in *The Social Contract*, Winter 1990-91]. "In fact this study shows students in the English immersion classrooms outperform the comparison group in all subjects when tested in grades 4, 5 and 6. Not until the end of the seventh grade do the transitional bilingual education students catch up to the others."

"...this study shows students in the English immersion classrooms outperform the comparison group in all subjects..."

For the study, researchers Russell Gersten and John Woodward of the Eugene Research Institute at the University of Oregon, and Susan Schneider of the El Paso public schools, looked at how two comparable groups of limited English students performed in grades 4, 5, 6 and 7 on the Iowa Test of Basic Skills (ITBS), a standardized achievement test given annually to students in the El Paso public schools. Student performance on the ITBS was analyzed in the areas of language, reading, mathematics, and vocabulary. The researchers found:

- Fourth-grade students in immersion classes outperformed their peers in transitional bilingual education classes in all aspects of academic performance, particularly language skills. By the end of the 7th grade, the differences in the performance of the two groups all but disappeared.
- Fourth- and fifth-grade students in immersion programs had higher scores on the reading portion of ITBS, and, again, by the end of the seventh grade the difference in the reading scores of immersion and transitional bilingual students was negligible.

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- No significant statistical differences between the mathematics performance of students in immersion classrooms and those in transitional bilingual education classrooms.
- Fifth-grade students in immersion programs had higher vocabulary scores than those in transitional bilingual education programs, but the latter group caught up with their peers by the end of the seventh grade.
- By grade 6, 99 percent of the immersion students are no longer in a special program but are completely mainstreamed. In contrast, 35 percent of transitional bilingual education students are still in TBE programs at the end of the seventh grade.

Based on these findings it is clear that the immersion program allows students to learn English well enough to be integrated into fully English speaking classrooms within 4-5 years, while one-third or more of the transitional bilingual education students still remain in special programs after six or seven years. In a time of tightening school budgets, the data argue that transitional bilingual education may not be the most cost-effective way to educate language minority children

READ's Porter says the study's "mixed" results send a strong signal to educational policymakers that a variety of methods are needed to help second language students develop the English skills they will need to meet world-class standards. "The data definitely dispel the notion that transitional bilingual education is a superior approach to English immersion," Porter said. "While both methods seem equally effective for teaching language-minority children, they take different periods of time to achieve the same academic results for these students. Certainly we should use the most effective practices to help students enter the mainstream as quickly and successfully as possible." ■

[Copies of "Bilingual Immersion: A Longitudinal Evaluation of the El Paso Program" are available for $9.95 each, prepaid. For further information contact the READ Institute, 1920 "N" Street, NW, Suite 430, Washington, DC 20036; (202)857-5650, Fax: (202) 452-9808. Discounts are available on orders of ten or more copies.]

Religion Should Look at the Environment

...Christian theologians and clergy who have traditionally supported a liberal political agenda have inherited a specific set of concerns defined early in this century as the Social Gospel. According to this humane view of the Church's role, followers of Christ should assign priority to the needs of the poor, the powerless, the sick and frail, the victims of discrimination and hatred, the forgotten human fodder chewed up in by the cogs of industrial civilization. The moral imperative attached to this set of priorities leads many advocates of the Social Gospel to vigorously resist the introduction of competing concerns ... as an issue, 'the environment' sometimes seems far from the more palpable sins of social injustice.

On the other hand, politically conservative theologians and clergy have inherited a different agenda, also defined early in this century. The 'atheistic communism' against which they have properly inveighed for decades is, for them, only the most extreme manifestation of a statist impulse to divert precious resources — money, time, moral authority, and emotional labor — away from the mission of spiritual redemption...

Thus, with activists of both the left and the right resisting the inclusion of environment on their list of concerns, the issue has not received the attention from religious leaders one may have expected.

— Al Gore in Earth in the Balance

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In our Fall 1992 issue, Garrett Hardin reviewed Carl Djerassi's autobiography The Pill, Pygmy Chimps, and Degas' Horse. *We thought you might like to see Dr. Djerassi's recent letter to* Science *magazine on the evolution of the steroid industry in Mexico, in which he played a key role. Reprinted by permission from* Science, *Vol. 258, October 9, 1992,* *© 1992 by the American Association for the Advancement of Science.*

Healing Drugs from Third World Plants: The Future

By Carl Djerassi

I. S. Johnson [in his letter to *Science,* August 14, 1992, p. 860] debunks persuasively the over-simplified, populist arguments why Eli Lilly & Co. owes millions in "royalties" to Madagascar for the exploitation of the common *Vinca* species in the development of the anticancer drugs vinblastine and vincristine. These naturally occurring alkaloids are historically instructive examples of medicinally important drugs, which, without further chemical transformation, continue to be obtained from plant sources. The future, however, of most new, medicinally useful drugs derived from the Third World or any other natural plant source is likely to be different.

Given present sophisticated isolation, separation, and especially structure elucidation techniques (for example, computer-aided mass spectrometry, nuclear magnetic resonance, and x-ray defraction) as well as much more specific and material-saving screening procedures (for example, biological receptor technologies), the emphasis of most present medicinal research based on natural products is on the generation of *molecular leads* rather than final products. The synthetic chemist will either modify the original structure, thus coming up with a new drug, or else produce the natural product by synthesis. After a few hundred million dollars are spent to bring such a product to the regulatory approval stage, should royalties be paid to the Third World country where a few grams or even some kilograms of the original plant were collected? Or for a product originally derived from a marine organism collected within the frequently claimed (and disputed) 200-mile territorial limit of certain countries? Suppose the plant came from Switzerland? Should royalties be paid to a Swiss canton by a Lilly, Glaxo, or Ciba-Geigy? If we wish to contribute to the economic well-being of a Third World country — and I am all for it — let us do it on more logical grounds.

"This enlightened step led to the training of a new generation of Mexican chemists; to the eventual establishment of Mexican industrial research laboratories; and to a budding graduate chemistry program..."

There is one instance where a real argument existed for financial reimbursement to a country for the exploitation of a wildly growing local plant — the isolation of diosgenin from Mexican *Dioscorea* species, which, starting in the late 1940s, led to a booming steroid industry in that country.[1] By that time, the Mexican government had imposed prohibitively high export duties on the *Dioscorea* plant as well as on diosgenin, in order to stimulate the establishment of a local advanced steroid manufacturing industry performing the much more complex chemical steps whereby diosgenin was converted into higher value finished hormones, such as progesterone and testosterone, that were then exported. This enlightened step led to the training of a new generation of Mexican chemists; to the eventual establishment of Mexican industrial research laboratories [for example, Syntex, which *Fortune*[2] in 1951 termed "the biggest technological boom ever heard south of the border"]; and to a budding graduate chemistry program at the National University (UNAM) — a process[1] that within ten

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years made Mexico the world's center in steroid hormone production, research, and patents. According to Harvard University's L. F. Feiser at a Gordon Research conference[3], more papers originating from Syntex in Mexico City were cited in his famous monograph[4] than from any other pharmaceutical company in the world.

"As is so common in gray area problems of great complexity ... oversimplified black and white solutions tend to prove counterproductive."

One of the key factors in the collapse of these uniquely promising developments was precisely the type of naive populist thinking reflected in recent pronouncements about "drugs from Third World plants." In the late 1960s, a different Mexican government decided to nationalize the plant collection and production of the cheap basic raw material, diosgenin, the base of the entire inverted pyramid of Mexican-produced hormones and synthetic steroids (oral contraceptives, topical corticosteroids, anabolics, and so forth), and to raise the price of diosgenin by several hundred percent. The ostensible argument was to bring more wealth to the poor peasants collecting the wild-growing yams, rather than to continue supporting the flourishing export business of advanced intermediates and final products by the affluent steroid manufacturers. This was chemical OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) thinking with one fatal flaw[5]: while it may take decades to come up with economically attractive alternatives to petroleum as an energy source, it took the international pharmaceutical companies only a few years to come up with other alternatives (total synthesis, use of other competitive raw steroid materials, and more extensive use of microbiological fermentation techniques) that transformed the Mexican diosgenin-based steroid industry into a minor player on the world stage — a transformation from which Mexico has never recovered.

As is so common in gray area problems of great complexity, where economic, political, and scientific factors as well as feedback mechanisms operate, oversimplified black and white solutions tend to prove counterproductive. The Mexican example shows that they can even lead to economic hara-kiri. Most of us want better new drugs, a more equitable distribution of the world's wealth, less dependence by three-quarters of the world on the technological prowess of the other quarter, and so forth. But naive proposals and a refusal to learn from history will not accomplish those meritorious aims. *Caveat lector*!■

NOTES

1 For a recent personal view, see C. Djerassi, *The Pill, Pygmy Chimps, and Degas' Horse* Basic Books, New York, 1992), Chapters 4 and 5.

2 *Fortune*, May 1951, p. 87.

3 L. F. Fieser, reproduced in C. Djerassi, *Steroids*, in press.

4 ___ and M. Fieser, *Steroids* (Rheinhold, New York, 1959).

5 C. Djerassi, *Proc. R. Soc. London Ser. B* 195, 175 (1976).

"We ought to view immigration the way a farmer views rain: Drought is bad, but flooding is worse."

— Ira Mehlman

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Garrett Hardin is Professor Emeritus of Human Ecology at the University of California at Santa Barbara and has written extensively on issues of population growth.

Ever More Californians?

A Book Review by Garrett Hardin

FIFTY MILLION CALIFORNIANS?
By Leon Bouvier
Center for Immigration Studies
Washington, D.C.
93 pp., $9.95 (paperback)
(202) 466-8185

In 1909, the British Ambassador to the United States asked "What will happen when California is filled by fifty millions of people...? Will [the people] be happier than they...are at this moment?" When Lord Bryce asked that question, the population of California was just two million. Now, there are over 31 million and the state is within striking distance of 50 million. More and more Californians are wondering if they are even happy now. Grudgingly, they are beginning to admit that sheer numbers can limit happiness. Real estate "developers," as a matter of faith refuse to admit that the land has a finite carrying capacity, but citizens who suffer daily from pollution and traffic jams insist that resources are finite. Unfortunately, human reproduction has no built-in limitation. So what are we to do?

Leon Bouvier does not tell us what to do, but (as a good demographer should) he lays out the indubitable facts. People who are afraid of statistics need not tremble before this little book of 93 pages. The author introduces only the essential figures and explains what they mean with admirable clarity. He points to the trends, and then leaves the reader to draw his or her own conclusions.

When we increase from the present 31 million to 50 million, what will be the state of our water supply? Air quality? Waste disposal? Highway crowding? Who among us has so strong a faith in "progress" that s/he believes that any of these problems will be less irritating at the higher population level?

One of the most noticeable facts about California's population is that its ethnic composition is changing rapidly. In the 1980-90 decade, while the total population increased by 30 percent, Hispanics increased by 80 percent and Blacks by 22 percent. The increase of the "Anglos" was a mere 11 percent. What will the future be? No one knows for certain because demography does not predict; it merely **projects** present trends, which must then be examined for plausibility. "Trend," as Rene Dubois was fond of saying, "is not destiny."

The most reliable projector of future population size is the "total fertility rate," that is, the number of children produced by a woman during her lifetime. The magic number is 2.1 children; at that level, two parents just replace themselves. On the average, half of the children are female, hence capable of producing the next generation. "Replacement level fertility" is 2.1 rather than 2.0, because a small fraction of the children will die before maturity, and some women will remain child-free. As of 1989, the fertility rate for Anglos in California was 1.74, which is well below the replacement level. For Asians, the figure was 2.42; for the Blacks, 2.55; and for the Hispanics, 3.91.

As time passes, differential fertility rates translate into "shifting shares" of the total population. In 1989, Anglos were a bare majority of the population at 59 percent. Projection of the present trends leads to the conclusion that Anglos will be only 48 percent of the population in the year 2000 (only eight years from now), while Hispanics will be 32 percent; there will be no majority. By 2020, Hispanics will outnumber Anglos at 40 percent and 36 percent respectively, but there will still be no majority. It should be obvious to everyone that politics in a multiple-minority state will be quite different from what it has been in the past.

Coupled with these numbers will be the fact that Anglos will be the older, richer portion of the population, relatively speaking, while the more numerous Hispanics will be younger and poorer. Even if one assumes no cultural differences between the two populations, it should be obvious that significant political changes will take place in the next quarter of a century. Experience shows that a

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plurality of poor people is apt to be more enthusiastic about taxpayer-supported social services than is the minority of wealthy people who pay disproportionately more in taxes.

Demographers' projections must be the basic data of all political prophecy. Bouvier's book should convince every Californian who reads it that it is not too soon to start thinking about the implications of the demographic facts.

"Bouvier's book should convince every Californian who reads it that it is not too soon to start thinking about the implications of the demographic facts."

Projected numbers must be interpreted in the light of psychology. In the beginning of the present century, it was thought that immigration and the differential composition of the American population would present no problem because America was a "melting pot," in which total "assimilation" would occur as social and religious differences were ironed out. Recent experience casts doubts on that simple faith. Bouvier makes the optimistic assumption that what he calls "pluralistic assimilation" will occur, that is, the different ethnic groups will maintain their cultural integrity while learning to live in peace with all others. The realization of this dream depends, says Bouvier, on four kinds of adjustments:

1. Immigration levels must be reduced.
2. The avenues to social and economic advancement must be opened to all.
3. The immigrants must actively desire to assimilate.
4. Long-term residents must actively welcome the newcomers, in subtle matters as well as in the more obvious ones mentioned in number 2, above.

More than two thousand years ago, Polybius, a Greek-born historian of imperial Rome, concluded that "every state relies for its preservation on two fundamental qualities, namely, bravery in the face of the enemy and harmony among its citizens." As Californians move into the new world that seems all-but-inevitable on the basis of trends, can the required "harmony among its citizens" be achieved? This is the question which Everyman and Everywoman must ask. ■

[*Fifty Million Californians?* by Leon Bouvier is also available in a pocketbook version from the Federation for American Immigration Reform at $4.00 per copy. Write to FAIR at 1666 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 400, Washington, DC 20009.]

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Eugene McCarthy was first elected to the U.S. House of Representatives from Minnesota in 1948 and served in the U.S. Senate from 1958 through 1970. Since retiring from the Senate, McCarthy has taught university courses in politics, history, and literature. In his latest book, A Colony of the World, *he relates U.S. immigration to other political and economic policies that, he asserts, give a new meaning to the concept of colonization.*

Eugene McCarthy and Colonialism Revisited: Two Perspectives

A COLONY OF THE WORLD:
THE UNITED STATES TODAY
By Eugene McCarthy
New York: Hippocrene Books, 1992
116 pp., $16.95

Editor's Note About the Reviewers:

Associate Editor Wayne Lutton, whose books include *The Immigration Time Bomb*, discusses how former Senator McCarthy treats the issue of immigration, both legal and illegal.

Paul Gottfried places McCarthy's views within the context of the ongoing post-Cold War realignment in U.S. politics that is making traditional labels increasingly irrelevant. Dr. Gottfried is professor of the humanities at Elizabethtown College in Pennsylvania and editor-in-chief of *This World.* His most recent book is a revised edition of *The Conservative Movement* (New York: Twayne/Macmillan Publishers, 1993).

Wayne Lutton:

In Eugene McCarthy's new book, *A Colony of the World: The United States Today*, the former senator observes that, historically, colonialism has been characterized by political, military, economic, demographic, and cultural control of the colonial territory by a foreign country. It is his thesis that the United States has, for all practical purposes, descended to the status of a colony, dominated not by one foreign power, but rather by a combination of outside forces — some political, some economic, some ideological — which are aided and abetted by special interest groups whose country of origin is the United States.

After discussing U.S. foreign and military policy, including the Gulf War and the announcement of the establishment of the New World Order, McCarthy devotes two chapters to reviewing the development of U.S. immigration policy since the mid-1960s. Most readers of this journal will be familiar with the facts and figures he includes concerning welfare costs, crime (he remarks that we have become "a colony to the underworld as well"); and refugee policy.

While serving in the U.S. Senate, McCarthy was a co-sponsor of the 1965 Immigration Act, which the late Theodore White characterized in *America in Search of Itself* (1982) as "probably the most thoughtless of the many acts of the Great Society... [creating] a catastrophe — the tide of immigration, legal and illegal, pouring into this country." The former senator provides an eye-witness account of the debate on the 1965 Immigration Act and how our current immigration-related troubles stem largely from it.

He points out that the reforms were not intended to increase substantially the overall numbers of immigrants entering annually. Further, McCarthy explains that the "family reunification" bias enshrined into the Act, was intended by its author, Rep. Michael Feighan (an Ohio Democrat of Irish descent) to ensure that future immigrants would, overwhelmingly, continue to originate in Europe. Since most people in the U.S. were descended from Europeans, Feighan, et al, reasoned that it would be Europeans who would benefit from the set-aside for people with existing family connections.

Today, we are only too well aware that such has not been the case. As McCarthy forthrightly admits, "many conservatives in Congress, however, feared that these changes could lead to a deluge of Third World immigrants and eventually present a threat to the dominance of European culture in the United States."

Now, warns McCarthy, immigration policy is undermining the political, economic, and cultural integrity of the United States. "A mark of a country's

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colonial dependence," he writes, "is lack of control over its own borders... [and] lack of control over who or what crosses those borders." He then bluntly states:

> *If one thinks of the classic definition of colonialsim — the arrival of large numbers of people who impose their cultural values and language on the pre-existing society — it is not hard to define the current wave of immigration as a colonizing force on the United States. What distinguishes the United States from other colonized societies is that we have the power to prevent it, but choose not to use it. ...We...have come to question whether the culture that built a society that has the world beating a path to our doors is even worth trying to preserve.*

McCarthy concludes his discussion of these matters by outlining the elements of a sensible and eminently practical immigration policy. This includes halting the flow of illegal immigrants at the border, vigorously enforcing employer sanctions, overhauling refugee policy, and changing the basis of legal immigration away from the kinship standard to one based on needed skills. As we go to press, it is noteworthy that the former Senator, who has long been the "liberal conscience" in America, has not been consulted by our new President.

Paul Gottfried:

In his newest book, former Senator Eugene McCarthy offers an overview of American foreign policy and of American economic and cultural history since World War II. The provocative title he gives this overview, *A Colony of the World*, may be drawing attention to his book generally, but it is only the second half, particularly the last section, that contains the most controversial views about the presumed descent of the U.S. into a colony of other countries. Genuine conservatives will undoubtedly applaud what McCarthy has to say on this subject, especially his comments about the laxness and sometimes uneasiness with which Americans patrol their southern border, and about our unwillingness to support a firm cultural identity as a precondition for national survival.

Both conservative intellectuals (as opposed to neoconservative ones) and blue-collar readers will also approve of McCarthy's observations about the transformation of America into a colony. The unwillingness of our government and our business sector to resist the acquisition of industries, resorts, and even historic sites by foreign buyers, often enjoying subsidies from their governments, show an even further loss of control over one's national house. McCarthy is relentless in providing instances and details of such deals; and he makes statements about the doubtful benefits of free trade that will surely anger the editors of *The Wall Street Journal.* Despite his long-time record as a left-of-center Democrat, McCarthy also makes critical remarks about illegal immigration and multiculturalism that will strike most "professional conservatives" inside the [Washington, DC] Beltway as excessively rightist. At least in some of his views, McCarthy may have moved far indeed from his once established identification with the Left.

"...it is not hard to define the current wave of immigration as a colonizing force on the United States."

Yet, this may not be the case at all. The first half of the book features opinions that McCarthy might have expressed while still identified with the anti-Vietnam-War Left. He attacks especially "the anti-Communist oversimplified ideology of [John Foster] Dulles" and has unkind words about other statesmen perceived as strongly anti-Communist, especially Republicans with the notable exception of Henry Kissinger. He also lists corporations and industries that benefitted from American military buildups during the Cold War, and he expresses the same critical attitudes about the American military-industrial complex that he and his followers held in 1968, when McCarthy opposed Lyndon Johnson from the Democratic Left.

The reason McCarthy sounds good, at least part of the time, to some conservatives is that American political alignments have changed dramatically since the 1960s. What used to be the Old Right has now dissolved into warring factions. While the largest of these factions is now dominated by a coalition of Beltway bureaucrats, hardline Zionist hawks, and

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globalist social democrats, social conservatives have regrouped around immigration issues and the question of national or Eurocentric identity. Within the current ideological struggles, McCarthy, an old-line anti-anti-Communist associated with what used to be the Catholic Left, may now be to the Right of William Buckley, who has become the patron saint of neoconservatism in his latest incarnation.

"[McCarthy] comments about the laxness and sometimes uneasiness with which Americans patrol their southern border..."

Working on the new edition of my book on American conservatism made me aware of how obsolete the political labels of even twenty years ago have become. Those who appeal to blue-collar Democrats by stressing the responsibilities of multinational corporations to an American labor force will be attacked as neo-Nazis in what are taken to be conservative magazines. The supposedly rightwing Heritage Foundation, according to a May, 1990 *National Journal* report, has helped raise illegal immigration to a "growth industry," for its own coffers as well as for the work load of social workers. Meanwhile, the labor union socialist and patriot, Eugene McCarthy, laments the effects on national character and social morality of our hemorrhaging borders and anemic immigration controls. McCarthy will have no truck with such contradictory cliches as "global democracy" and "universal nations."

New political taxonomies will have to be created to deal with shifting alliances and loyalties. Certainly it is silly to describe former HUD Secretary Jack Kemp, an immigration expansionist and a darling of the civil rights lobby, as a "conservative" presidential candidate, while putting social conservatives Christopher Lasch, Eugene McCarthy, and John Lukacs on the Left, because of their insufficient anti-Communism. The Communists by now are vanishing and it makes no sense to have anti-Communism as a permanent litmus test for conservatives, together with the policies associated with that stand. Note that not all anti-Communists were historically on the Right, just as not all opponents of Cold War intervention were historically on the Left. The most celebrated anti-Communists by the 1980s were identifiable Mensheviks (for example, Joshua Muravchik and the founders of the National Endowment for Democracy), while among isolationists were genuine rightwingers who never embraced Bill Buckley's reconstruction of the Right as a Cold War shock force.

Do those who support strong protection of the natural environment automatically put themselves on the Left? Again, there are too many exceptions to accept the Beltway-neoconservative view of the matter. Most social conservatives of my acquaintance have sympathy for ecology, and would express it even more openly if they were not afraid to be put in some bad company. But there are also countervailing forces on the Old Right to embracing ecological measures: an at least residual commitment to the free market and a desire to build a populist coalition, including anti-environmentalist workers.

The responses to Eugene McCarthy's book point to the present disalignment that is evident on the American Right. They will not, however, provide the basis for any new durable alignment. ■

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Criminal Aliens

Book Reviews by Wayne Lutton

VIOLENCE IN AMERICA
Ted Robert Gurr, Editor
Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications
THE CROOKED LADDER:
GANGSTERS, ETHNICITY, AND
THE AMERICAN DREAM
James M. O'Kane
New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers
206 pp., $29.95

Alien involvement in crime is a phenomenon that has not received the attention from social scientists and historians that it deserves. Those researching the mobility patterns of various ethnic groups have shown a marked reluctance to explore how some newcomers have chosen to pursue a life of crime as a means of advancing from the lower-class to middle-and-upper class respectability.

The following are among the relatively small number of titles that can be recommended to readers wishing to learn more about aspects of this topic:

Violence in America:The History of Crime edited by Ted Robert Gurr, includes two dozen articles representing a sampling of recent scholarship on the long-term dynamics of murder and other crimes of violence. Eight of the articles touch on the participation of immigrants in crime and collective violence (i.e. rioting). Among the chief contributors to the recurring epidemics of violent crime that have plagued the United States over the past 150 years, six authors cite the periodic waves of immigration. From the 1840s, when the Irish arrived, each new immigrant stream tended to add disproportionately to crime. Significantly, Roger Lane of Haverford College, in his essay on the "Social Meaning of Homicide Trends," points out that rates for serious crimes fell throughout the 1940s and 1950s, in large part because immigration declined to a trickle from what it had been before.

This adds support to those now calling for a "Moratorium" on immigration to the U.S. Historically, periodic "time outs" have been necessary for the country to digest heavy inflows of aliens. As readers of this journal are only too well aware, we have been undergoing nearly three decades of uninterrupted, steadily increasing immigration, compounding the manifold problems associated with immigration of this magnitude.

In *The Crooked Ladder: Gangsters, Ethnicity, and the American Dream*, James M. O'Kane, of Drew University, describes how members of various ethnic groups have engaged in organized crime as one means of trying to achieve upward mobility.

The author reviews theories that social scientists have concocted to try to explain what is often dismissed as simply "aberrant" behavior on the part of minorities, who are frequently portrayed as "victims of the system." However, O'Kane notes, such interpretations tend to obscure the fact that many people choose to become criminals for very rational reasons. Especially for lower-class newcomers, crime is virtually the only way of having a chance of obtaining the material goods they associate with the American Dream.

Chapter Three provides a brief history of ethnic organized crime. Though now largely forgotten, organized crime did not originate in the U.S. with the Italian Mafia, but rather in the 1840s with the entry of Irish Catholics. By the second half of the 19th century, they dominated organized crime in the larger metropolitan areas. The Irish were themselves supplanted by Italians and Jews from Eastern Europe.

In his discussion of the historical dimensions of organized crime, O'Kane observes that not all ethnic groups entered into widespread illegal activity: "German immigrants, among the largest contingent of newcomers arriving in the mid-nineteenth century, had remarkably little involvement in crime... The same can be said of the Scandinavian newcomers who followed a pattern similar to the Germans. Thus, Swedes, Finns, Danes, and Norwegians are likewise largely absent from the annals of the major mobs and criminal syndicates of the past 150 years."

The author charts the rise of new ethnic criminals in Chapter Four. He reminds us that among the Cuban exiles were people who had first sharpened their skills while employed in the casinos and other dubious operations that flourished on the island prior to Castro's takeover. The author goes on to cite the 1965 Immigration Act as a key development. This opened the U.S. to large-scale Asian immigration. In order for organized crime to take root, a critical demographic mass is necessary.

"Education" is dismissed as a pseudo-solution to

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crime. Contrary to the views promoted by sociologists and professional educators, the author reiterates that gang members "are not pushed into crime; instead they rush headlong into it, lusting for the thrills and opportunities that come with it... The primary factor motivating these youth is the opening of a new world where they see success, status, and power before them. No one coerces them to pursue this lifestyle. They consciously and eagerly desire it... The mobs never need to post 'Help Wanted' signs for these ambitious newcomers."

"Assuming that there will be no end to large-scale immigration [O'Kane] concludes that 'the prognosis for the elimination of ethnic organized crime is indeed grim.'"

In his last chapter, O'Kane considers the future of ethnic organized crime. He does not embrace the view that the post-1965 wave of immigrants and their descendants will necessarily join the mainstream, as earlier generations of immigrants often did.

The U.S. economy is undergoing fundamental restructuring. There are fewer and fewer job opportunities for those lacking the skills and values that are a prerequisite for stable employment. As O'Kane soberly states, substantial numbers of Blacks, along with Caribbean, South and Central American, post-1980 Cuban, Vietnamese, Mexican, and Chinese ethnic minorities, "are economically useless: they have no economic function in a society that has moved far beyond low-skilled employment."

"Ethnic organized crime among current minority newcomers is flourishing and ever-expanding, with no end in sight," O'Kane writes. Assuming that there will be no end to large-scale immigration, he concludes that "the prognosis for the elimination of ethnic organized crime is indeed grim. Compounding this reality is an equally depressing one: many of the former lower-income ethnic criminals have not necessarily become law-abiding citizens. Many have simply "moved up" to white collar crime...."

Professor O'Kane has prepared a useful overview of the ethnic experience in organized crime. His findings should give pause to the disciples of Julian Simon, and the editors of the *Wall Street Journal*, who contend that the latest wave of immigrants yield a wide margin of benefits. ■

Other Books on Crime

Great Britain's decision to transfer control of Hong Kong to the rulers of Beijing by 1997 has spurred a flight from the colony. Among those seeking safe haven elsewhere are the Chinese criminal societies, known as the Triads. The two most recent books dealing with them are Gerald Posner's, *Warlords of Crime: Chinese Secret Societies — The New Mafia* (New York: McGraw-Hill) and *Triads: The Growing Global Threat from the Chinese Criminal Societies* (New York: St. Martin's Press). Both are well-written accounts which review the origin and current operations of these Asian crime syndicates.

David Kaplan and Alec Dubro are the co-authors of *Yakuza: The Explosive Account of Japan's Criminal Underworld* (New York:Collier/Macmillan). Ranking second only to the Chinese Triads in power, the Yakuza have been extending their reach into the U.S. This volume includes a photo of former President Jimmy Carter jogging with Ryoichi Sasakawa, a preeminent Yakuza figure who is also a major donor to the Carter Presidential Library & Center at Emory University.

Of the books published on the drug trade, two of the best are Guy Gugliotta and Jeff Leen's, *Kings of Cocaine: Inside the Medellin Cartel* (NY: Simon & Schuster) and *Desperados: Latin Drug Lords, U.S. Lawmen, and the War America Can't Win* (NY: Viking), by Elaine Shannon. Here we see how 'open borders' permit drug dealers to come and go as they please.

Those interested in learning more about the various ethnic gangs that flourished in America throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, will find that Herbert Asbury's books make for informative and entertaining reading. Especially recommended are *The Gangs of New York: An Informal History of the Underworld* (NY: Alfred Knopf, 1929); *The Barbary Coast: An Informal History of the San Francisco Underworld* (NY: Knopf, 1933); and *Gem of the Prairie: An Informal History of the Chicago Underworld* (NY: Knopf, 1942). ■

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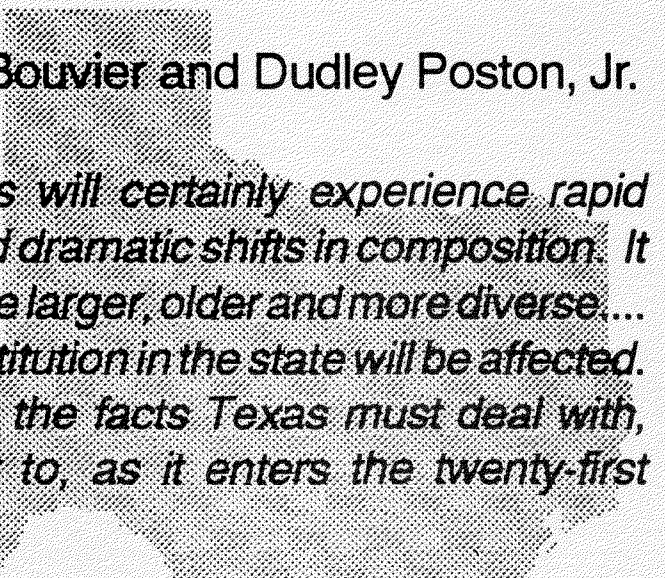
by Leon Bouvier and Dudley Poston, Jr.



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